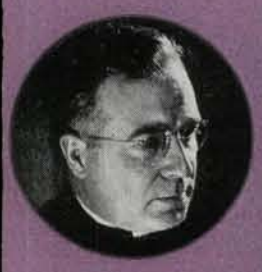
NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

Royal Oak, Michigan | April 4, 1938 | Subscription: Three Dollars Per Year | 10¢



THE CORPORATE STATE
BY
Father Coughlin

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BEFORE THE COMING OF THE BLACK DEATH
Joseph Bondy

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FAREWELL IN VIENNA
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WHILE ROME BURNS
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"WILL THE GENTLEMAN YIELD?"

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DAMIEN THE LEPER
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NO PLACE LIKE HOME
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LUME IA No. 6

Neville Chamberlain

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Social Justice

APRIL 4, 1938

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Neville Chamberlain

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Volume 1A 77 Number 6

Father Coughlin Replies . . .

During the past week hundreds of letters were addressed to Father Coughlin containing questions pertinent to the Corporate State, to democracy and to other kindred subjects. In this week's column, many of these questions have been classified. Below, the answers are given to a series of questions selected carefully from the letters.

1. Does the Corporate State favor dictatorship?

ANSWER: On the contrary, the Corporative State favors democracy. It fears dictatorship for the simple reason that a Corporative State is the expression of all classes living within the state while a dictatorship oftentimes becomes the expression of one man's will which, unfortunately, does not represent all the classes.

2. Is not the party form of government the best vehicle to express democracy?

ANSWER: It seems to me that a party form of government is not the best method to sustain democracy. In any given party, one will find that it is composed of laborers, farmers, merchants and industrialists who are leagued together to sustain some platform enunciated by some party leader.

The opponent party is constructed similarly.

Experience teaches us that these two parties are returned to Congress; that the pledged platforms are neglected; that the powers behind the throne dominate whatever party happens to be in power; that just legislation is neglected; that Congress becomes a debating society; and that the interest of congressmen is chiefly concerned with getting themselves re-elected.

The basic ills of the country are seldom removed and the result is that chaos becomes more chaotic.

Party form of government in its analysis, divides the people on some trivial policy and prevents the people from uniting on a substantial policy. "Divide and rule" has been the program of the powers behind the throne. These powers, although a minority, are well organized. The people are thoroughly disorganized as a result of parties.

For that reason I have long since advocated that the followers of social justice should not wed themselves to politicians or to political parties. It was a great mistake for the National Union to adopt politicians. It will be a greater mistake for the proponents of social justice to continue that error either directly or indirectly. In social justice organizations there is no room for a politician. We cannot be loyal to our principles and sustain party-ism because the results of party-ism are strewn around us.

In no sense am I even intimating the dishonesty of politicians. It is impossible for politicians to function for the best interests of the country when they are identified with political parties.

3. How can you have democracy if you do not have party-ism?

ANSWER: I maintain that party-ism destroys democracy and institutes a system of government better described as "mobocracy." You cannot have democracy, in its true sense, as long as you have party-ism. It is true that party-ism permits the citizens to oppose each other. Democracy is more concerned with the citizens helping each other.

Now, if all bookkeepers belonged to one union; if this union were divided into state branches; if the state branches, in turn, were divided into local chapters, this union would know more about the needs of bookkeepers and the fair practices which should govern their activities than a hodge-podge mob would know. From the various meetings, assemblies and conventions for bookkeepers, the best program for bookkeepers can be produced. The vast majority of bookkeepers would be glad to accept that program. Then all the bookkeepers could elect one of their members to represent them and their program as the representative in Congress.

Every other classification of citizens can find the best representation in this same manner.

In other words, Congress will be composed of representatives who really know their business, as each man will represent, officially, his own incorporated group. Together these representatives meet in Congress, not to fight each other and to obstruct each other, but to co-operate for the welfare of all the people.

Democracy is best served in this way.

4. Does a "corporated group" really mean an incorporation?

ANSWER: Certainly.

The bookkeepers would be just as truly incorporated as is General Motors incorporated.

We have much to learn from the efficiency of industrial corporations. A large motor corporation, composed of four or five hundred thousand stockholders, fund their money to build motor cars for a profit.

Among these stockholders, there are many thousands who know nothing about a carburetor, a gas engine or a rubber tire. Fortunately, they know that they don't know.

What do these stockholders do? They hold a meeting to elect officers who do know everything about a motor car—where to buy the raw material, how to manufacture it, how to sell it and how to make a profit. The stockholders are free, at any subsequent meeting, to choose another set of executives and officers. They enjoy full democracy, as it were, and succeed in getting the best results for the dollars which they invested because they are clever enough to select the best men to head their corporation.

Now, let us apply this business method of corporations, established for manufacturing purposes, to corporations established for political purposes. All carpenters should form a union which they will incorporate. I mean that they will seek from the government a charter for all carpenters in the nation to operate as a moral and legal person through their duly elected officers. The same will be true with every other class of citizens.

Let us learn from business corporations, profiting from their administration for our political welfare. It has been proven in the history of business that corporations get along better than do rugged individuals. Rugged individuals are being wiped out chiefly because they *are* rugged individuals. Well established and managed corporations make progress even in the midst of depressions.

While I hold no brief for the exploitation which is oftentimes associated with corporations, I hope I am intelligent enough to recognize their good qualities and practical enough to adapt these good qualities to our political and social lives.

A Corporate State, therefore, is a state composed of free citizens, each one of whom has joined a corporation to protect his class, his activities and his social rights. The officers of the corporation speak for the class. In other words, the president and board of governors of the carpenters' corporation will instruct their representative and spokesman in the House of Representatives to do as they tell him to do. Inasmuch as he is their servant and their spokesman, it is not his business to represent bricklayers, the miners or any other corporative group. He will co-operate with them according to the instructions received from the officers of his own group.

Editorial Confidences . . .

Youth's problem, which is arresting the attention of the serious thinkers of this generation, is the subject of a thought-provoking article, "Under Thirty," to appear in SOCIAL JUSTICE April 11th.

"Bootlicking the Bankers" is the title of next week's article by Robert H. Hemphill, international financial authority, who refutes the economic fallacies of a widely known newspaper columnist.

The problems of social revolution, as well as most of the modern solutions advanced for them, are actually ancient, writes Dr. John Garvin in "Christ's Social Message," the third of his excellent series.

Ever since the condensation of John Farrow's fine book, "Damien the Leper," has been appearing serially in SOCIAL JUSTICE Magazine, many inquiries and requests for the complete story have been received. Social Justice Publishing Co. has no facilities for handling these purchase requests and inquirers are referred to their own favorite book store. In case your dealer does not have the book, write directly to the publishers, Sheed and Ward, 63 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

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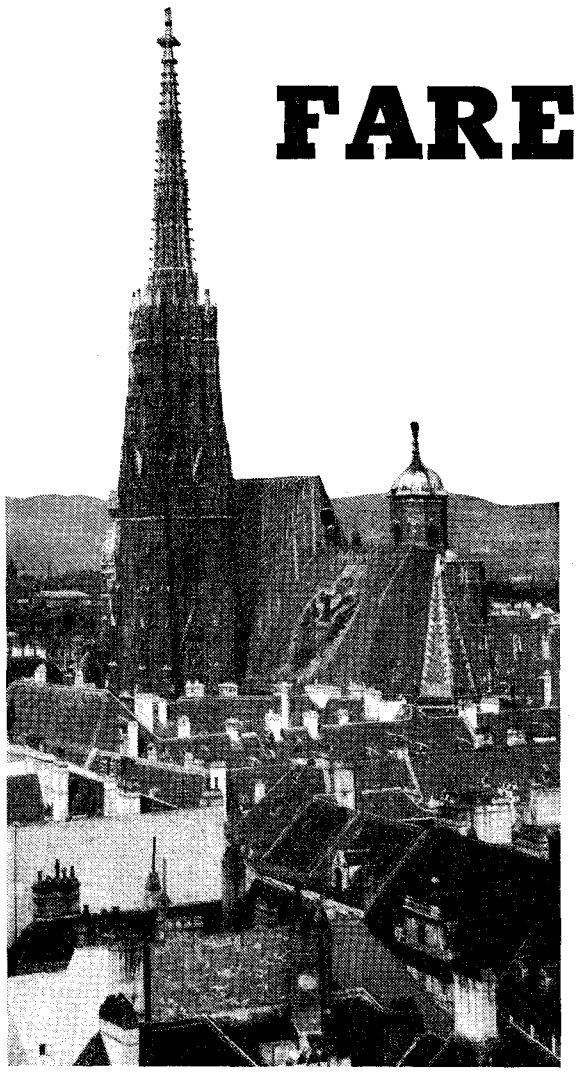

FAREWELL IN VIENNA

by Joseph P. Wright

Hitler's Austrian Success Was Russia's Defeat. The Story of European Intrigue That Led to Germany's Bloodless Conquest

HOB-NAILED Nazi boots tramped over the Austrian border late at night, March 11, 1938, and the dream of Otto von Bismarck became a reality.

The union of Germany and Austria, the "Anschluss" spoken of reverently in the years after the war and before Hitler, was accomplished by this brown-shirted Napoleon who, to all appearances, threw down the gauntlet to a black-shirted Caesar—a Caesar who earlier had pledged his Fascist Italy to the preservation of Austrian independence.

Dr. Kurt von Schuschnigg, successor to the mantle of the beloved Engelbert Dollfuss, martyred "pocket chancellor" of the post-war period and vigorous foe of Communism and Nazi-ism alike, spoke a farewell address and told Austria that he stepped aside to prevent bloodshed.

"I take leave of the Austrian people with a German word of farewell, uttered from the depths of my heart," he said. "God protect Austria!"

Shortly, steel-helmeted Nazi troops took their stand at the Brenner Pass. Beyond the Alps lay Italy and Mussolini, and the situation that all Europe feared stirred consternation in the chancellories of England and the continent, from east to west.

Germany, by a single coup, had become the most powerful nation in Central Europe. The threat of Russia to the west had been leveled. The sphere of influence of Leftist France had been narrowed. And Austria's Christian co-operative state had been Nazi-fied, testifying that Dollfuss died in vain.

Out of the treaty of St. Germain, Austria gained independence. Out of the rise of Communism to the west, Socialism to the east, Fascism to the south, and Nazi-ism to the north, little Austria and her 7,000,000 people remained a Christian pawn in a zone of antagonistic nationalities; a reservoir of Christian hope against a sea of Christian oppression. Such a condition could not last. Sooner or later a strong nationality, aggressive for broadened power, would break into the reservoir and swallow the Austrian people.

In 1933, Hitler rose to power in Germany. During the same year, Chancellor Dollfuss sought to put an end to bombings, riots, shootings and general disorder in Austria by outlawing the Nazi party. In this he had the pledge of Italian aid. In 1934, Dollfuss was assassinated by Otto Planetta, member of a Nazi band, and Dr. von Schuschnigg replaced him as Chancellor.

IN 1936, Dr. Schuschnigg concluded an agreement with Hitler whereby the Third Reich recognized Austria's sovereignty, and Hitler gave his attention to solidifying his position with Mussolini in the Rome-Berlin axis, and with England for financial reasons. Little Austria breathed more easily and gave its resources to the construction of a Christian corporative state.

But beneath the diplomatic overtures, in the minds of those most vitally concerned, reposed no thought of such secure position for Austria.

Italy entered the World War on the side of the Allies because of her dread for the Austro-Hungarian empire which had clouded Italy's prophetic picture of a united Italian state, of an Italian empire. Benito Mussolini's rise to power and his erection of a Fascist state was undertaken to provide that unity. Still active was the fear of a threatening nationality in Central Europe. In 1925, speaking before the Italian senate on the proposed union of Austria and Germany, Mussolini said:

"I believe the Italian senate will agree with me that Italy could never tolerate an evident violation of the treaties which would annex Austria to Germany. That annexation, I think, would enlarge the demographic and territorial strength of Germany and would create this paradoxical situation: The only nation which would gain territory and population and so become the most powerful bloc in Central Europe, would be Germany. . . . It is necessary to guarantee the frontier on the Rhine, but it is also necessary to guarantee it on the Brenner. . . ."

Italy's longing for an empire threw Mussolini to Hitler in the Rome-Berlin axis. Only Hitler, who shared such a longing for the new Germany, could lend an ear of understanding to such a proposal. This axis prevented forceful resistance to Germany's seizure of Austria. But Italy still abhors the thought of a yawning, giant empire across the Brenner Pass.

MIGHTY Britain has been forced into successive compromises with both Hitler and Mussolini. Outwardly, Britain condemns German aggression, but inwardly Britain remembers Viscount Halifax's conversations with Hitler last November, when that later-successor to Anthony Eden assured the Reich that so long as no war was started and the British Empire left entirely to Britain, Germany might move about in Central Europe as she saw fit, free of British interference.

Of more concern to England are Italy's movements in the Mediterranean, a zone of Italian influence having a delicate bearing on British imperial possessions.

France, with Leon Blum filling the gap left by Camille Chautemps' resignation, and attempting to form a national cabinet, could offer no resistance stronger than a diplomatic protest. Hitler cares nothing for protests.

The successor to Schuschnigg in Austria is Dr. Arthur von Seyss-Inquart, a Nazi. He had been installed in the cabinet as Minister of the Interior under Schuschnigg, at Hitler's bargaining, as the price of continued Austrian independence. Now he will rule Austria in the "interregnum"—between Schuschnigg and Hitler.

Austria succumbed to German might, but in the death of the corporative Austrian state lies the hope that the internationalist plotters of Red Russia have been denied a conquest. For, as surely as Hitler took Austria, Stalin and Russia intended to do so, sooner or later, through force, propaganda, disintegration or a sudden coup.

The broken pledges of Mussolini and Hitler to Austria—Mussolini's promise of sympathetic aid and Hitler's guarantee of Austrian sovereignty—cost the nation its independence and autonomy. At present, might is right in Europe—the strongest nation is the dominant nation. Justice, Equality, Liberty, Democracy—all must take place behind armed power.

Although in Vienna it is farewell to independence, it also is farewell to Communism.

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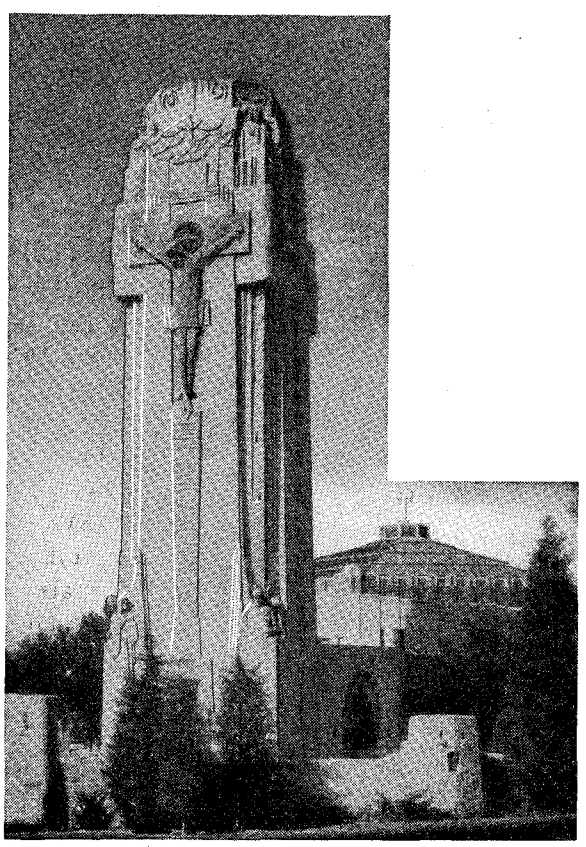

FROM THE TOWER

PORTUGAL—God's Gift to Reformers

WHILE American politicians wrangled over patronage and partisanship, and while American citizens wondered just how democratic "democracy" was, the little nation of Portugal—comparatively insignificant—quietly cast off its parliamentary form of government and built a firm foundation for a New State.

It all began in 1928, the year which marked the advent of the administration of the Portuguese dictator, Salazar. Quiet, unassuming and politically unambitious, this young statesman, unlike any other dictator, came into power without benefit of a private army, without intrigue or revolutionary organization. Always out of sympathy with parliamentarianism, he regarded representatives as mere table-rappers who, session after session, silence speakers and obstruct legislation by drumming on their desks with broken chair-legs until a state of farcical pandemonium is created.

Before the regime of Salazar, conditions in Portugal reached a new low level. After 20 years of republican mal-administration, things came to such a pass that debate and argumentation were of no avail. The men who had supported the system which had reduced Portugal to poverty flouted every new idea presented and demanded of every sincere reformer a clear exposition of what their system could accomplish five and ten years hence. They forgot that their own system was unworkable. They failed to realize that their own system was producing revolution. Probably because they did not have enough intelligence, foresight or learning, and possibly because they were not men of good will, the parliamentarians of Portugal practiced the same obstructionism which parliamentarians are practicing in America and other democratic countries.

As a result, revolution—peaceful in Portugal—was the only way of solving the dilemma.

Will that be the only way to solve it in America? That question has entered the minds of many who are agreed that our own democracy is tottering weakly to its grave, and who are fearful of the events which may follow its ultimate breakdown.

The death knell of democracy in Portugal was sounded when the minorities battled against the government on the terms of the tobacco monopoly. For more than a week, the Chamber of Deputies was a veritable bedlam, legislative action being suspended again and again until, in sheer desperation, General Comes da Costa summoned the garrison to march on Lisbon. Thus, the politicians were routed and a military dictatorship of brief duration began.

When the new regime failed completely in its attempt to restore the financial position of Portugal, the distressed country appealed to the League of Nations. However, the plan proffered by the Geneva experts was so degrading to the national pride that it was rejected peremptorily.

It was then that Salazar was requested to take charge of the Ministry of Finance. Without the aid of outsiders, he proceeded to solve the country's economic troubles by drastically reducing departmental expenses and ministerial salaries. He even slashed the wages of the army without whom he could not hold power for a single day, and they submitted to his orders without rebellion. The net result, after a six-year period (1928-34), was a credit balance of $40,000,000, as contrasted to the previous annual deficit of $25,000,000 which, after six years, would have grown to $150,000,000. In addition, harbors were reconstructed, roads and highways were repaired and many new units for the navy were erected through his shrewd management—and this during the existence of a world-wide financial crisis.

By what magic formula has this singular man succeeded in restoring a distressed people from the lowest dregs of social and economic chaos?

LET US review briefly the essential characteristics of Salazar's Corporate State. It regards the family as the basic unit or "irreducible atom" in the organic structure of the state. In other words, the state does not exist for the individual citizen, but for the family, which is the smallest possible group drawn together by natural instinct. Each individual member of this atomic unit quite naturally joins further associations to promote his legitimate ambitions and interests. Thus, we find citizens grouping themselves into a second unit, namely, the guild.

Guilds are nothing more than autonomous, corporative groups of individuals banded together according to trade or vocation for the common welfare of the members. For example, all barbers in a district form a guild—they act co-operatively to write their by-laws, to set their prices, to limit their hours and to select representatives for the district guild, which is composed of delegates from all vocational groups in the community. Each unit cares for its own sick and needy and fulfills definite spiritual obligations.

The New State encourages the formation of such associations. It aims to enlarge them into confederations, and to use them as the basis of political representation.

The Corporate Assembly—a body of delegates from guilds representing virtually every vocation—is given a definite status by the Constitution of Portugal. It is vested with the duty to study and report in advance on all motions and bills brought before the National Assembly. The latter may request any technical advice or information it may need, and the Corporate Assembly is exceptionally competent to furnish it because its members represent a variety of occupations and can speak authoritatively and expertly on matters of importance to the welfare of the community. The sessions are held in private and members are divided into separate, specialist sections, doing the work of a permanent investigating committee. Although this body cannot enact laws, it has full representation in the National Assembly.

In common with parliamentary forms of government, this National Assembly has legislative powers and is returned by popular vote. Unlike democracy, however, there is no possibility of political party-ism or other combinations. Members of the National Assembly cannot attain cabinet rank. The Council of State is selected by the President himself, and the appointments hold good for life, independent of the confidence of the National Assembly. The President, with his Council of State or the Members of the National Assembly, initiates laws, but the government's tenure of office does not hinge on whether the Assembly approves of its policy or not. "The government," says Salazar, "is independent of the Legislative Assembly, and, in that way, of the electoral body, so that it has not to be preoccupied with the confidence of the Chambers, nor with the artificial movements of opinion, nor with the canvassing of party support."

Thus, the artificial grouping of the old party system has been discarded in favor of the guilds. The latter, being formed by natural instinct, are more conducive to good government than are the political parties which lump together masses of individuals with divergent occupations and social interests. Unobstructed by the evils of the partisan game, Salazar and his New State are free to proceed with the vigorous work of national reform.

That is the system of which the late G. K. Chesterton spoke approvingly some years ago. The eminent English author and journalist once expressed the belief that with the passing of the guilds, there began to wither all society.

Today—in the person of Salazar—we find a statesman who is resurrecting these forgotten Christian teachings and applying them in a practical manner to the problems of his country. Perhaps, his action will lend inspiration to others into whose hands the destinies of nations have been committed.

Father Coughlin

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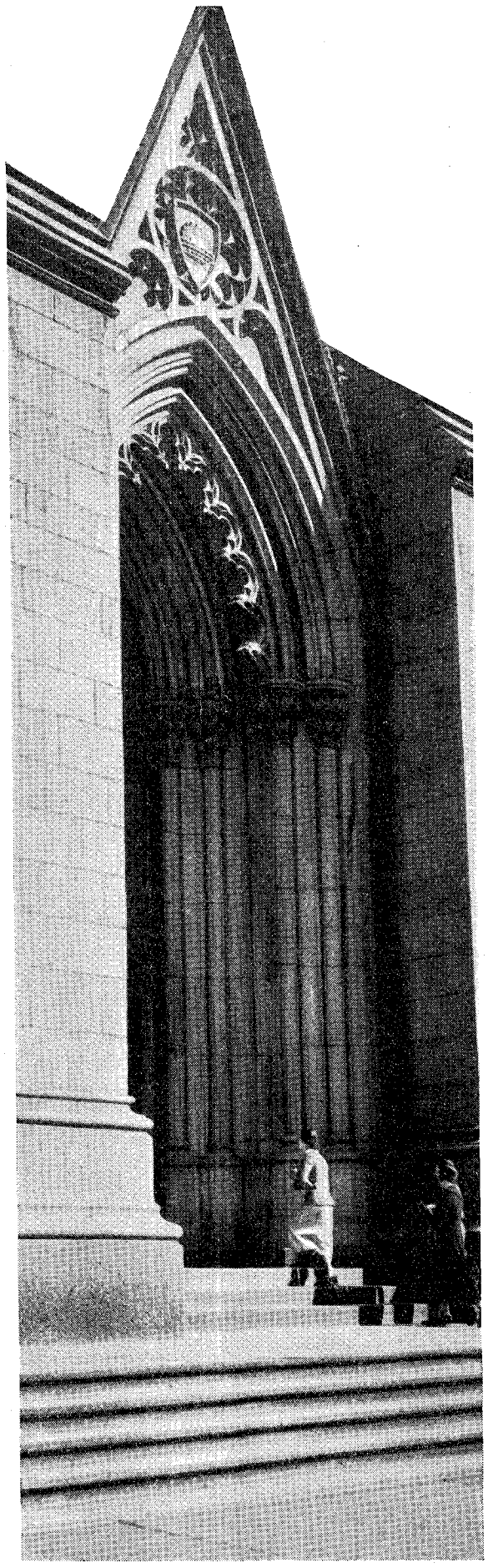

THE CHRISTIAN SOCIAL REDEMPTION

by John Garvin, Ph. D.

Change in the Lives of Men Must Be First Step in Reform Program

"If society is to be healed now," declares the Supreme Pontiff, Pius XI, repeating the declaration of Leo XIII, "in no way can it be healed save by a return to Christian life and Christian institutions."

THEREFORE, the Christian man of the day, on whom primarily lies the duty of paving the way for the solution of the Social Problem, must first know what Christ did for society, and then co-operate in His plan. That co-operation is an idle sham if the Christian does not get others to do the same, because the title Christian is not like the title Agnostic or Theist. It does not merely mean that you hold a theory, it means that you have a job to do.

The Social Problem, as we have seen, deals with men and women, who are all blood-brother members of the society of the human race. That race began with a man and wife whom God created and to whom He gave the gift of a super-human life. By virtue of this life they were, after a period in this world, to be admitted into the very "home-life" of the Godhead. But they committed a sin of disobedience and pride, called the Original Sin, and the guilt of that sin was carried in the human blood-stream to every child that was born into the world. Two alone were excepted, the Social Redeemer, Christ, and His Mother. The result of that original social sin was the loss of the super-human life of grace, and also disorder and chaos: chaos in the soul (running to cruelty, murder, rapacity, immorality); chaos in the body (disease and sickness and death); chaos in the body-politic (tyranny and despotism); chaos in the social frame (slavery, enforced poverty, and capitalism).

By the time of Christ's coming, society presented a ghastly picture of what the effects of that sin could be when allowed to run its course through the social body. Rome was both the center and the mirror of the world. And Rome was sodden with sin, it stank with disease, sexual and otherwise, it was glaringly capitalist. Dr. Muller Lyer has shown what a highly developed capitalism it was, and how private fortunes were amassed on a larger scale than at any subsequent period before the nineteenth century. It was, of course, not an industrialist capitalism, for its basis was slavery, but there was the same unbridled economic warfare, the same cruel division of society, the same sub-human conditions for the worker, the same alliance of governments with wealth, and the same sacrifice of the masses to economic cyphers as we see in modern capitalism.

Such was the state of the Empire when the Son of God came into the world, and said "I have compassion on the multitude." What was His action on society? He did not (as certain modern social idealists would have Him do) launch out with a new economic scheme. He did not begin an Anti-Slavery Movement. He did not think that an agitation for Peace with Parthia would put the whole world right. He was God, and saw first things first, and not first things second. He therefore flew to the root-cause of the social disorder, namely, sin. *"Behold the Lamb of God, behold Him who taketh away the sins of the world."* Society did not suffer from lack of food, or want of intelligence, or absence of organizing genius: it labored under a burden of inherited evil, under "an accumulated result of the forces of lust and fear and pride and self-interest that drive mankind down the bloody road of history." It was to remove the root-cause of all this, to clear the poison from the wells of society, that Christ came.

IN ORDER to effect this, Christ did not act alone. He designed to choose members of this sinful society, and having purified them, to create a new society, and through this new society, to continue through all time the redemption of the human race. Hence the Christian Redemption is not an individualist redemption, it is a social one, because it is only in and through this society, of which Christ is forever the Head, that the world's sin can be removed and the social problems of humanity settled. He called this society His Kingdom. Today it is called the Church, or the Mystical Body of Christ. He founded His Kingdom on His own blood, by sacrificing Himself on Calvary and continuing that sacrifice in the Church, and He also founded seven Sacraments, three of which deal with the removal of sin, inherited sin and personal sin; one to keep His Society alive with the super-human life of grace; one to confirm them in the active social redemption of the race; and two social sacraments by which the life of grace and the active redemption of the world could go on from generation to generation. This then is God's answer, always and ever, to the social question.

The break-down of the cruel economics of the Roman Empire did not come about through any forces inherent in that empire or through any native genius. It came through the action of the members of Christ's Society, through Christianity. Nor did the Apostles go in for trimming the outsides of the social decay or papering the cracks of the social fabric with economic slogans. Leaving Pilate on the judgment seat and Caesar on the throne and the bankers on their stools, they carried the Sacrifice and Sacraments and teaching of Christ through the length and breadth of the civilized world. The divinely founded Society assimilated as it spread, and cleaned up the sin of the Empire, substituted the life of Christ for the life of vice, the law of Christ for the law of the jungle, brought charity into the place of cruelty, and by removing the foundations of economic disorder, dealt such a death blow to the capitalistic regime, that it did not raise its head again till the nineteenth century. When it did, it arose in that part of the world that had broken away from the Kingdom and scorned its Sacraments and its Teaching.

ONE POISONOUS and pernicious error, fostered by rebel Christians, has had its effect in sapping the vigor of many individual loyal Christians. The error is this: that the Christian Redemption was an isolated act of the past, and not one that continues throughout all time. That is wrong. Christ and His saving power is no more away from the world today than when He was in Palestine. His Redemption goes on still through the Society He created for the purpose. Twelve men imbued with His grace and His spirit, without resources, without financial backing, with no mighty credit schemes behind them, restored justice to the social body and healed its wounds.

What happened then can happen now. For the economic laws of today which bring so much misery in their trail are not the laws of an emergent necessity. They are not elemental laws, which, as Walt Whitman says "never apologize." They are the changeable laws of men dominated by the old lusts, and it is the duty of the real Christian of today to bring these men within the redemptive scheme of Christ, the Son of God.

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NATIONAL WEEKLY

Social Justice

Founded 1936 by Father Coughlin

Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin, LL.D.
EDITORIAL COUNSEL

(By Permission of His Superior)

Published by The Social Justice Publishing Co.

16 PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL JUSTICE

Liberty of conscience and education.
Just, living, annual wage.
Nationalization of important public resources.
Private ownership of all property.
Control of private property for public good.
Abolition of Federal Reserve Banking System and establishment of a government-owned Central Bank.
Restoration to Congress of its sole right to coin and regulate the value of money.
Cost of living maintained on an even keel.
Cost of production plus a fair profit for the farmer.
Labor's right to organize.
Recall of non-productive bonds.
Abolition of tax-exempt bonds.
Broadened base of taxation on basis of ownership and capacity to pay.
Simplification of government and lower taxes.
Conscription of wealth as well as men in event of war.
Sanctity of human rights preferred to sanctity of property, with government's chief concern for the poor.

Adventure In Independence

CHANCELLOR KURT SCHUSCHNIGG, late of Austria, will be honorably remembered in the history of this year's month of Mars as the "Man Who Tried."

Inheritor of a rich tradition of statecraft, made notable by Metternich, Seipel, Dollfuss and many others, Schuschnigg attempted to add to the independence of Austria the further blessings of a co-operative Christian state. His Innsbruck broadcast calling for a national referendum on his program rocked the chancellories of Europe.

"The formula is for a free, German, independent and social state; for a Christian and united Austria!" he told his nation. "For peace and work and the equality of all who acknowledge their faith to our people and fatherland. That is the object of my policy."

Charging that this call for a plebiscite violated the Austro-German agreement, Hitler, the German chancellor, moved into Austria and summarily annexed it to the Reich. The leftist governments of France and Russia protested vigorously; Great Britain's diplomatic protest was largely for purposes of the record; while Italy reiterated her faith in the Rome-Berlin axis.

SOCIAL JUSTICE is neither pro-Hitler, nor pro-Austria; its program is the universal hope of social justice for all peoples. In the Austrian situation it may well be that the lesser of two evils has been chosen. Chancellor Hitler's brand of order—which, we must not forget, is the German will—may, in the alchemy of time, prove to be preferable to a Communistic coup.

If there is substance for this viewpoint, we may look for an exodus of internationalist plotters, and anti-God radicals, from the environs of Vienna within the ensuing days.

Bold, Beguiled Frazier

FOLLOWING is a letter received by a correspondent of SOCIAL JUSTICE from Senator Lynn J. Frazier, signatory to the notorious "good will" greeting to the parliament of Red Spain.

"Dear Mr. B—

"Your letter in regard to the message to the Loyalist Spanish Government received.

"The Loyalist Spanish Government is the duly elected and constituted government of that country and anyone who believes in Democracy must, it seems to me, oppose a revolution against any duly organized government which is sponsored by the financial and Fascist interests both at home and abroad. This revolution is openly backed by the Fascist interests in both Italy and Germany and apparently by those same interests throughout the world.

"I am at a loss to understand how any American citizen could defend such an undemocratic and unfair revolution.

"Yours truly,
(signed) "Lynn J. Frazier."

It is as useless to argue Senator Frazier's contentions as it is to understand his logic. He is ignorant of the facts.

1. The Loyalist Government in Spain is not the duly elected government of that country. The election was stolen. This brought the revolt.

2. If all believers in Democracy must oppose a revolution, this country would never have been founded. Americans spent eight years wresting themselves from the 'duly organized'—and also tyrannical—government of Britain.

3. The Loyalist Government — avowedly, professedly and openly — is the totalitarian government of a Communist state. The tag "democratic" is supplied to delude shallow, wish-thinkers of the Frazier type.

4. If believers in "Democracy" must oppose a revolt against Communism, as Senator Frazier reasons, then "Democracy" becomes synonymous with Communism. True Democracy will have to cloak itself in a new word.

Lastly, if Senator Frazier and his like attempt to inject any "Democratic-Communistic" or "Communistic-Democratic" ideas of the Spanish type into our national government, they will quickly experience true Democracy's right to rebellion.

The blood of martyrs will stain the steps of the Capitol at Washington when that day arrives.

The People, Not The Government

THE March 4th edition of the *London Catholic Herald* publicizes that Catholics in the United States are unanimously for the policy of "no alliance with Britain."

Without contradicting the American foreign correspondent who conveyed such information to his London publisher, an explanation originating at Father Coughlin's desk is apropos for our English and other readers.

American Christians composed of Catholics and Protestants, far and wide, are in deep sympathy with the English people. We recognize that a brand of social injustice has been practiced in the land of St. Austin to the detriment of Christianity. We are not ignorant that, in the first instance, Henry VIII, culminating a series of moves towards the left and away from the social structure identified with Christian guilds, confiscated the monasteries, perverted the bishops and abbots and established, in practice, a philosophic individualism which, with lightning rapidity, struck at the institutions and homes of England.

American Christians are not sympathetic with English government because the leaders were, too often, identified with the righteousness of might. In recent weeks American Christians have been shocked at the attitude of the British government, through Anthony Eden, to support the leftists in Spain, the leftists in France and the leftists in Russia.

For years, Americans in general, despite Mr. Roosevelt and his radical advisers, have stood aloof from the League of Nations which, to our mind, was nothing more than an ingenious attempt on the part of a group of godless diplomats to perpetuate the injustices of the Peace Treaty of Versailles.

In conclusion, it is unfair for any correspondent to picture Father Coughlin, particularly, and American Christians, in general, as opposed to the British people. His desire is to establish harmonious relations with England and her colonies in our common struggle to effect social justice throughout the world.

It is unfair to say that Father Coughlin is opposed to the American people because he is opposed to the present activities of the New Deal, which has produced the chaotic results now well known to all the world. The same argument is applicable in explaining the attitude of American Christians towards the British government and the British people.

In a former edition of SOCIAL JUSTICE the retirement of Anthony Eden and his policies was acclaimed, and the appointment of Lord Halifax in Mr. Neville Chamberlain's cabinet was applauded.

"No foreign entanglements" is a policy of Americans to be applied both at home and abroad: We will not entangle ourselves with foreign philosophies which are hostile to Christian social justice, whether they are voiced in Washington or in London.

What Does New Deal Want In Prices?

EVER SINCE March, 1933, when there was a new low in low prices due to the fact that money—both currency and credit had been ruthlessly contracted and diminished in circulation—the President and his advisers have been bent on raising prices and this was one of the primary objectives of the New Deal.

In fact, President Roosevelt stated "the New Deal program was launched with the declared purpose of raising prices all along the line."

Price raising was the key of restricted production under NRA, AAA, the Guffey Coal Act, the Oil Control Act, the Tydings Price Maintenance Act. Pigs were slaughtered by the millions to artificially raise prices.

Reporting a press conference in 1934, the *New York Times* of October 11—and the *Times* is pro-New Deal—stated:

"President Roosevelt today emphasized his belief that PRICES SHOULD GO HIGHER and that the Administration would continue on its course toward this goal."

And again on October 31, 1934, the same paper stated that the President said: "The President held a rise in commodity prices as necessary to recovery."

Now "the President is seeking a way to stop inflationary price increases," according to the same *New York Times*.

The President knows or should know that only one thing really raises prices and lowers them and that one thing is the amount of money in circulation. When the supply of money is increased, prices go up and when it is withdrawn from circulation, prices go down.

All the empty eloquence about monopoly distracts the public mind from the primary laws of basic economics. It detracts from serious reflection which alone really arouses public resistance.

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THE RUIN OF THE SMALL STORE KEEPER

by Hilaire Belloc

Thousands of Independent Dealers Now Work as Managers for a Small Salary

THE phrase "small distributor" is a pompous but accurate way of saying "small store-keeper." He also was an economically free man as was the unencumbered farmer of his own land. The small store-keeper was an independent citizen under no master. He is threatened with disappearance like his brother the small owner: the craftsman, the farmer. He is more menaced than the small owner and is in danger of disappearing altogether sooner even than the small owner will.

There are two sets of causes for his misfortune. A moral set and a material set.

On the moral side, there is the lack of natural excuse for, and natural sympathy with, the small distributor as compared with the small craftsman or farmer. The craftsman or farmer produces directly things which are necessary to our lives: food and clothing and furniture and the rest. When we think of him, we think of work necessary and useful for everybody. But the store-keeper is only a middle-man. He passes on what the small owner has made or, nowadays, what the big manufactory has made, to the consumer; and there is no apparent natural argument for this function of "passing on the goods" being in the hands of small business more than big business. Indeed, if we could get the necessaries of life direct, without having recourse to middle-men at all, we should think it a good thing.

Then there is the fact that the wage-earners have no special sympathy with the small store-keeper. Some few of them may have the sense to feel rather vaguely that they are all in the same boat together against the big capitalist. But the wage earning masses will buy what they need wherever they can get it cheapest and do not trouble particularly about supporting the small dealer.

As for the wealthier people, they find the small store-keeper inconvenient, compared with the large store. It seems to them squalid, compared to the comfort and luxury to which they are accustomed, and it is necessarily less able to provide at a moment's notice what they happen to want.

Now this last point: the opinion of the wealthier people is very important, for they have a great deal to do with the making of general opinion.

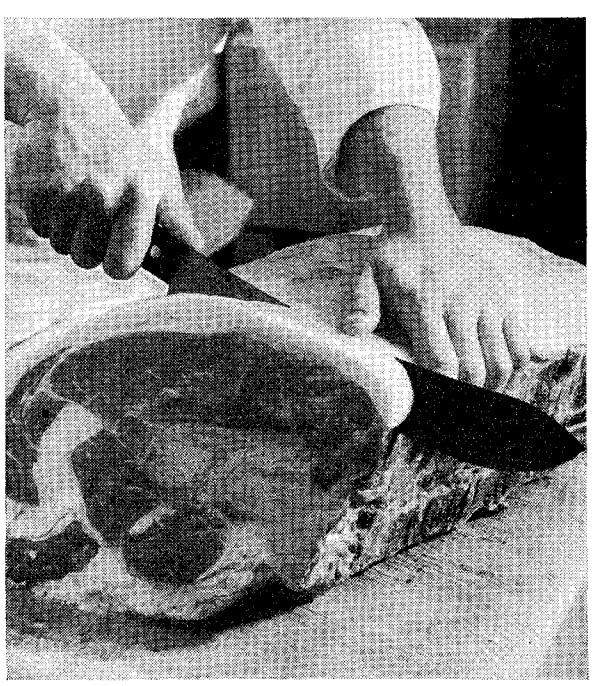
SO MUCH for the moral forces working against small business. The material forces are even stronger. You have among these material forces some that are working against small business for the same reasons that they are working against small ownership. Small business has less information than big business. It has less variety or perhaps none, selling only one thing, where the big store sells a number of different things, therefore it cannot make up for loss on one kind of sales by profits on another. It has no "spread over." Then again, like small ownership, small business has less command of credit than large business. Very often the bank will not listen to it at all and when it does it charges more in proportion for a small loan than it does for a large one.

In all these ways small business is handicapped in its struggle to live, precisely as small ownership is handicapped.

But there are also special enemies to small distributors which attack them as distributors and from which the small owner is free.

Big business has proportionately smaller "overhead" than small business, even the rent it pays is often heavier *in proportion to the turn-over* than the rent paid by the big stores; while the clerical expenses and pretty well all the running expenses are proportionately heavier.

Then there is the cost of advertisement, which has become so enormously important in modern capitalist distribution. A hundred thousand dollars spent in a given time on large advertisements has far more than a



hundred times the effect of a thousand spent on petty advertisement. In practice, small business hardly advertises at all, while big business shouts at us everywhere.

Then there is the giving of contracts. For instance, in the catering trade. A big catering firm will get the order for banquets or the feeding of great numbers of men in institutions, or the armed forces; a small catering firm will not, and a little store can never find anything of the sort coming its way.

Then there is the extra cost of supply; small business has to pay far more in proportion for getting its petty stock delivered to it than has big business.

Meanwhile, every added facility for rapid transport and rapid communication of orders, increases the power of the chain-stores. So all along the line. Under free competition small business goes to the wall. The small distributor is sinking fast. The human instinct for independence desperately maintains his hopeless struggle, but hopeless it is as things are, and he is going under.

All the observers in his own line of life, especially the big distributors, see this clearly. It is most instructive to listen to the conversation of big business men on the shortcomings and misfortunes of the old-fashioned single store-keeper. The newspapers (with whom the small man cannot advertise) are equally certain of his doom.

Now, as in the case of the small owner, the loss of economic independence means that the man and his family become proletarian. A friend in the trade assures me that within his own lifetime some 40,000 independent grocers in one European country are now replaced by 40,000 salaried managers living on a wage, the servants of one big company, and at its mercy. This flood of proletarianism grows and grows, and with it there comes to color the whole community what may be called "the proletarian mind." *This proletarian mind is, as I have said, the real danger of our time.* Capitalism is but a product thereof.

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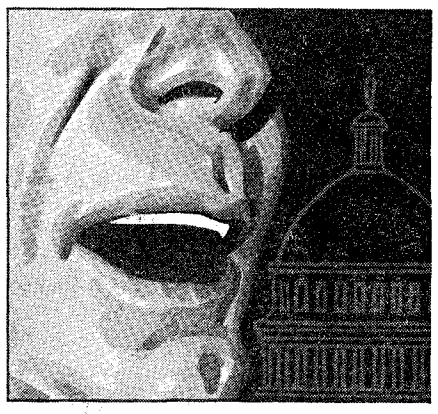

Interior Department Alone Prints 870 Pamphlets

By HON. ROBERT F. RICH
Representative from Pennsylvania

LET me show you what they are doing in the Department of the Interior. They have published in the Secretary's office 15 periodicals, and in the Bureau of Mines 266 publications, in the Bureau of Reclamation 293 publications, and in the National Parks Service 56 publications, the Geological Survey 86 publications, the Office of Education 91 publications, Office of Indian Affairs 10 publications, General Land Office 59 publications. This information comes to me in a letter dated January 3, from the Department of the Interior. I am merely giving you what the Interior Department says it has done.

They have published 870 booklets or pamphlets, and some of them to the extent of as many as 400,000 of one particular pamphlet. Is there rhyme or reason in this? Is there not somebody who will say to you that that is wrong? Is the time coming when you will think for yourselves instead of having some one else think for you? Are you going to let the President and the Secretaries run the Government, or the Congress? It is time for you to think.

Will the time ever come when you consider these things on their merits, when you will favor them because you really believe in them in your own minds, in your own hearts? Will the time ever come when you think of the taxpayer's pocketbook; or are you going to let these departments and bureaus run this Government?

Japan Fishes While Alaskans Rave

By HON. HOMER T. BONE
Senator from Washington

THE Seattle Chamber of Commerce recently checked up on the value of all Alaska products during the period 1867 to 1937 inclusive. It may surprise you to know that while the value of gold produced in Alaska during that period was $488,566,000; the value of salmon was $1,000,755,000; and that the value of all the fisheries products was $1,127,397,000, as compared with $757,599,000 for all mineral products.

The State Department has taken a deep interest in what is going on today in China and has made strong representations to the Japanese government with regard to affairs in the Orient. At the same time that the United States has been sending many so-called stern notes to Japan—the State Department has been most considerate of the Japanese in their exploitation of the fisheries resources of Alaska.

Regarding China, the State Department was unwilling to believe the polite statements of the Japanese diplomats as to the good and peaceful intentions of Japan in China, but for a long time accepted without question the equally polite assertions of the Japanese that they really are not doing any commercial fishing in Alaskan waters.

I do not know much about fishing, but I have been advised by experts that the presence of surface gill nets strung for two miles would be some indication that a boat is preparing to catch a commercial quantity of fish, and that the fish sought are salmon which run close to the surface.

Alaskan eye witnesses have long assured the State Department that the Japanese are really catching fish in large quantities, but the State Department being reassured from Tokyo, wrote letters saying there was really nothing at all to be alarmed about.

Those who perhaps know more about fishing than members of the State Department's staff have advised me that the Alaskan salmon industry will be extinguished if these inroads are not curbed. They assert that the Japanese throw nets across the mouths of rivers and virtually bottle up the entire run of the salmon, preventing the fish from going up to spawn.

The Japanese government has said in effect to this government, "We won't negotiate regarding taking of salmon in Bering Sea, because we have a right to take all we want, and there is nothing to negotiate about."

Low Tariff On Shoes Creates Greater Unemployment

By HON. BERT LORD
Representative from New York

OUR shoe manufacturers have tried to keep our factories running and on as full time as possible. They have taken orders for shoes with little or no profit in order to give the employes work. They have been, and now are piling up shoes in reserve in expectation of better times, endeavoring to give work to their employes. Yet the Federal Government, through our successive reciprocal trade agreements, has destroyed the confidence of the manufacturers and has upset the whole industry.

In 1919 we exported, in round numbers, 22,000,000 pairs of leather-soled shoes of a total dollar value of approximately $75,000,000. In 1936 we exported 1,500,000 pairs of a total dollar value of approximately $3,000,000. There were imported into this country in 1936 approximately 2,054,499 pairs, and in 11 months of 1937 approximately 2,697,847 pairs. Now, if we take the total of the loss of our export business and the increase in our import business it makes a total of approximately 24,000,000 pairs of shoes per year. I am told that the average production of shoes in the United States is approximately seven pairs per man per 8-hour day, or 35 pairs per week and 1,820 pairs per year. Therefore, if these 24,000,000 pairs of shoes could have been produced in the United States they would have provided employment for 13,186 men for a whole year.

Our shoe workers have not been working more than 50 or 60 per cent of full time, and a large percentage of the shoes manufactured has gone into storage, yet our factories have kept running just to give the employes as much work as possible. It has been necessary to reduce wages of all salaried employes by 20 per cent, and it has also been necessary to reduce the wages of all other workers 10 per cent. It is not pleasant for the Endicott-Johnson Corporation to reduce wages. They have always divided fairly with their employes, and it is only the fact that competition is so keen at the present time, due to a large extent to the low tariff on shoes, that such reductions have become necessary.

"Will the Gentleman Yield?"

How Long Can Idle Live Off Earners?

By HON. CLARE E. HOFFMAN
Representative from Michigan

SOME day, some time, we are going to get into the position where those who are contributing all the time will have less than those who are on the receiving end. That will be "swell," the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. Johnson) says. That will be swell for the fellows who are getting it, but it will be hell for the fellows who work and are giving it.

Gradually we are getting those two classes nearer together. Gradually the day is drawing nearer. I made a mistake when I said "gradually" because that day is creeping up on us rapidly. The time is coming, and it is not very far away, when those who are on relief—and no one should starve, we all agree on that, no one should go without proper clothing, and all should have proper homes—when those who are without clothing, and when those who lack proper homes demand and receive better food, better clothing, and better homes than those who have worked, and saved, who have practiced thrift, and who are working today. When that time arrives the worker will rebel. He will be unable to longer carry the burden. Then what?

Already we have reached a condition where, in Detroit, a WPA job is refused for the reason that the pay is $60 a month and the man can get $70 a month on direct relief without working at all.

How long can those who earn continue to support in idleness those who will not work? To support in idleness, providing more of the necessities of life to those who have no work than the workers themselves receive?

Millions Spent For Useless Printing

By HON. JACK NICHOLS
Representative from Oklahoma

THE millions of dollars that are being spent by this Government every year for the printing of useless bales of printing matter is a thing that this Congress should take cognizance of and start doing something about. It would surprise any man if it were possible for him to know—and it is possible, of course—the amount of money that is being expended by the Government for printing bills.

I have in mind many reports that are printed by various departments of the Government which are supposed to advise the Members of Congress of the activity of that department. To print such a report in concise, brief form would take but a few pages. If you will examine these reports, you will find in nearly every instance that they constitute big volumes of great size. They not only make a report but they go on and print an unlimited number of pages of propaganda which blows their own horn and attempts to justify the doings of the departments, many of which are contrary to the spirit of existing law.

The Appropriations Committee of this House may well scrutinize the amounts of money requested by the various departments of government for printing bills.

Only Bankers Have Legal Right To Steal Money

By HON. CHARLES G. BINDERUP
Representative from Nebraska

SUPPOSE you and I were to forcibly enter a house and carry away the family's groceries, clothes, and everything, including the family's cash. An alarm would soon be turned in and police cars with screaming sirens would move swiftly to the place of robbery and land us in jail.

But imagine further, that we were to organize an entire army camouflaging our intention by calling our gang the "so-and-so brotherhood of America," in order to raid an entire State, a job which has successfully been carried out elsewhere.

Would we not expect the Federal army to take charge; and knowing the efficiency of that force, would we have any doubt as to what the outcome would be?

On the other hand, if a group of bankers were to meet and decide to contract the volume of money in circulation in our country, say, by $10,000,000,000, and by that very act create an artificial depression which would deprive the people of their jobs, so that they would be unable to buy groceries, coal and other necessities of life, but would have to use up their savings and even lose their homes, such an act would be looked upon as lawful.

And if the people refused to surrender their property, then that very police, of the National Guard or the Federal army, according to this same Constitution would have to do that very job of putting husbands, wives and children out into the cold.

How is it that after 160 years of political liberty, a small group of bankers are permitted to retain powers by virtue of which they at will can create depressions, and by which the police, the National Guard and if necessary the Federal Army can be called upon to enforce their decrees?

In spite of our voting power, we who through our work in the field, the mines, the workshops or offices, have created a wealth of more than $250,000,000,000, have permitted two-thirds of that wealth to accumulate in the possession of a small group, consisting of a few thousand men and women.

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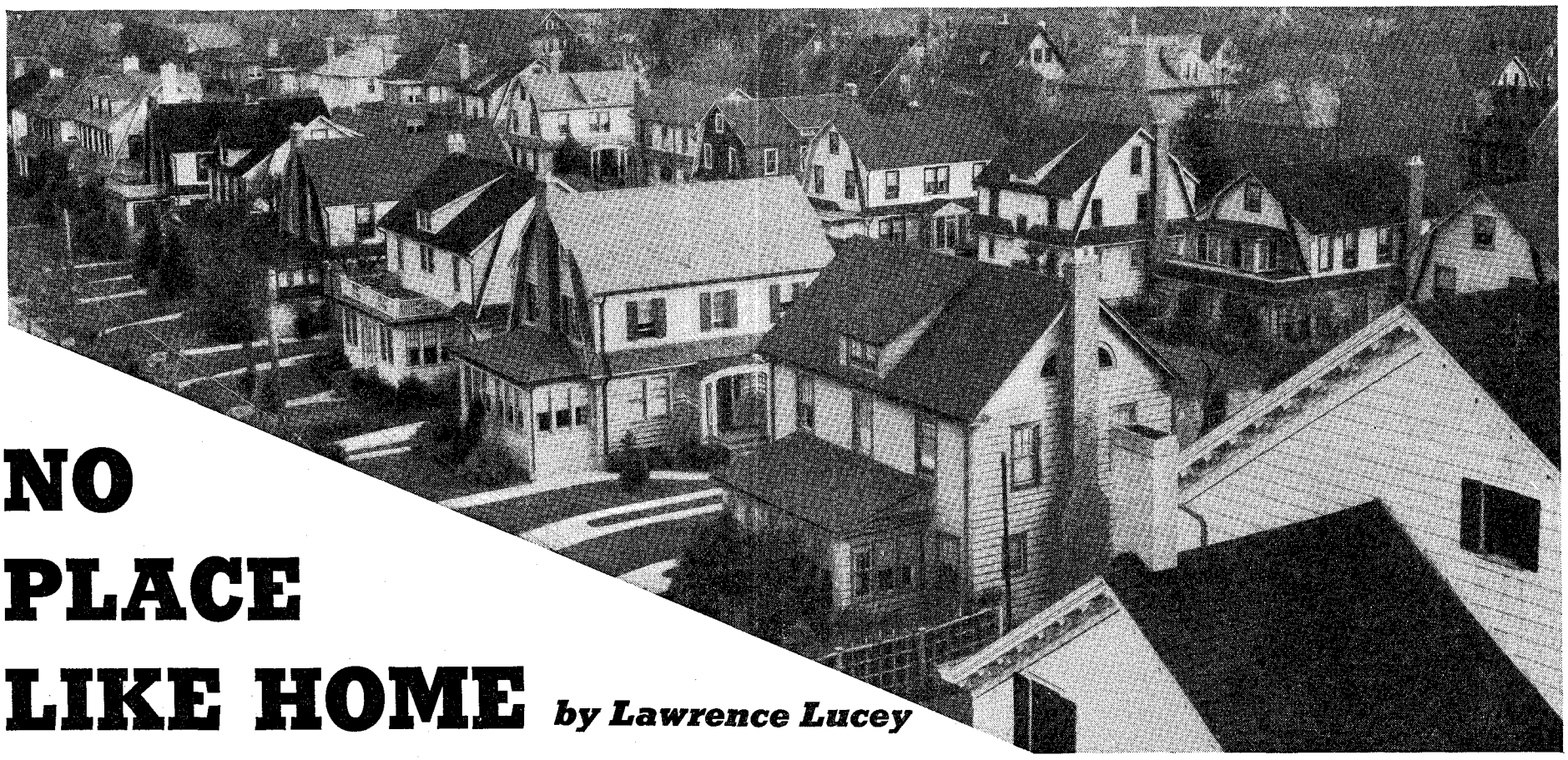

NO PLACE LIKE HOME

by Lawrence Lucey

Fewer Than 10 Per Cent of the Homes of America Are Owned by Their Occupants

CAPITALISM is a puffed parrot. It talks heaps about private ownership and lives in a gilded cage of landlordism.

In theory, the people in a capitalist economy are supposed to live in homes owned by themselves. A family cannot be free when it is possible at any moment for the landlord to get a court writ and put them and their belongings out on the street for non-payment of rent. Nor can a family qualify as rugged individuals when their home can be taken from them by a bank for being delinquent in their mortgage payments.

In a capitalist country, a man's home should be his own. Our forefathers of the horse-and-buggy days enjoyed private ownership. Most of them owned their own home and a large tract of land to boot. Rent payers were few. And when a man owned his own home, he really owned it. Now, when people are home owners, they have anywhere from a ten to a fifty per cent interest in the house and a bank or mortgage company owns the rest.

Somewhere between forty and fifty per cent of the families in America now are listed as home owners. The remaining sixty or fifty per cent are rent payers who are not masters of their own home. But a vast majority of the forty or fifty per cent of the population who are listed as home owners, and have a deed to their house in their own name, are not, in the true sense of the word, home owners.

A family who owns one-tenth or one-half of a home is not really a home owner. In real estate parlance, these people own their home "on suspicion." Instead of paying rent to the landlord, they pay interest to a bank or other mortgage holder. There is only a shade of difference between a family that has surrendered its individualism to a landlord and a family that is at the mercy of a bank or other mortgage holder.

In 1931, the banks and mortgage companies held 21 billion dollars worth of mortgages on city residences in the United States. *Fewer than ten per cent of the homes in the cities of America are owned entirely by their occupants.* Though more country homes are owned free and clear of mortgage encumbrances than are city homes, the percentage is not much higher.

SINCE the Federal Government entered the mortgage field, by way of the Home Owner's Loan Corporation, a new element has been added to the capitalistic blend: It used to be one-tenth rugged individualism with a residue of private socialism; it is now one-tenth rugged individualism and the remainder is a mixture of private and governmental socialism.

Hot on the heels of President Roosevelt's declaration that one-third of the people are ill-housed, came the new home owning stimulant by which the Federal Housing Administration is authorized to insure mortgages on private homes up to ninety per cent of the value of the land and building.

This New Deal law had a predecessor in the Home Owner's Loan Corporation by which the Government halted, temporarily, the old-fashioned melodrama between the holder of the mortgage and the home owner, just as the villain was about to foreclose and put the owner out on the street. When foreclosures became too common, and threatened to bubble up into a minor revolution, several states stepped between the mortgage holder and the owner by declaring moratoria. Most of these state laws provide that, contract to the contrary notwithstanding, the owner of a home was given a breathing spell of a few years in which he would not be required to pay off any part of the capital invested by the mortgage holder in his home.

Then the Federal Housing Administration, when banks refused to lend any money for building mortgages, came on the scene and, by guaranteeing the banks that they would be paid in full by the Government should the home owner default in his payments, made mortgage money available once again. It is a vicious cycle as the taxpayers are made to back bank lending.

THE Resettlement Administration's "Greenbelt" or "Tugwell Towns," the Tennessee Valley Authority's "Knoxville," and the Public Works Administration apartment houses are other New Deal approaches to the housing problem. These three agencies have not let a bank or private builder come between them and the home owner or renter. The Government has built the private homes or apartments and sold or rented them to their occupants.

Out of this background, and because of it, comes the amendment to the Federal Housing Act by which the Government will insure mortgages on new private dwellings up to ninety per cent of the value of the land and building provided the homes do not exceed $6,000 in price. This measure has been hailed by friends and foes of the New Deal as one of the greatest things done by this administration.

But I for one am not convinced that this new housing law will be any more than a temporary, shot-in-the-arm stimulant that may do a little good but is worthless when looked at from the long range point of view. A few thousand low priced homes probably will be built because of it, but it will be the same old housing mess that has prevailed for so long in this country with a dash of rouge and lipstick to make its surface appearance more pleasing to the eye.

What has caused this drift away from the private ownership of our forefathers? Is it that people no longer desire to own their own homes? I do not think so.

Many rent payers will tell you that they would rather live in an apartment or rent a floor in a private home than own their own home. But I think most of these people are the victims of a sour-grape complex. Rooted deeply in the heart and instincts of nearly everyone, particularly a married couple with children, is the desire to live in a home of their own. There is no place like home—especially one's own home.

Human nature has not changed since the horse-and-buggy days. People want to live in a home of their own but they cannot afford it. Something has happened since our forefathers showed by their actions that home ownership is essential to the happy, good life.

It now costs entirely too much to own, finance and carry a home. This is the principal reason why ninety per cent of the population have surrendered their individualism to a landlord or mortgage concern.

To become a capitalist country once again, all these private and Governmental nuts must be cracked: A real housing program must take into consideration the Federal and city or town taxes, mortgage interest rates, state foreclosure laws, title companies, the recording offices of the cities or towns, real estate brokers, builder's profits and last, but probably the most important of all, the buyer of a home must be provided with the money to buy a home.

No matter how low the price of a home, one who is working for starvation wages cannot buy it.

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The Corp

by Rev. Cha

Sunday *March 13, 1938*

MY friends, ladies and gentlemen:

During our lifetime at least four distinct proposals have been discussed in the Congress of the United States to reorganize our government. At the present moment another attempt is being made, by Mr. Roosevelt, to accomplish this end.

Universal experience based on the chaotic results of the bad government which has been inflicted upon us; universal recognition that our lamentable condition is the direct result of the inefficient party system of politics under which presidents and congresses have been forced to operate—these point to the conclusion that some reorganization is necessary for a system of government which fails to govern.

Recognizing that any change does not necessarily point towards betterment of a condition; recognizing that most changes may direct us to a more servile condition of existence than we now experience, it is of paramount importance for all citizens to weigh the reorganization proposals being considered by Congress and to protest against their being accepted if, upon consideration, they appear to breed worse disasters than those from which we are endeavoring to escape.

To develop this thought, first, permit me to read a summary of a letter addressed to our President by the distinguished citizen, Amos Pinchot, pleading with the Chief Executive to forego his plans for reorganization of government; and, second, bear with me while I submit to your judgment reasons why some reorganization is needed and eight specific proposals which, to my mind, should be considered.

IN part, Mr. Pinchot's letter reads as follows:

"The Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

"In February, 1937, soon after you sent your Supreme Court bill to Congress, I heard from sources which seemed fairly reliable:

(a) That you had become convinced that, in order to carry into effect your program of reform, you would require an enormous increase in the powers of the presidency;

(b) That, after constitutional barriers had been removed by the passage of the Supreme Court bill, there would follow a series of bills expanding your powers;

(c) That a bill reorganizing the executive branch of the government and lodging vast powers in your hands had, in fact, already been drafted by three men, chosen by you, and been presented in your behalf at a closed session of a special committee of Congress; and finally

(d) That this bill was of such a revolutionary, and indeed incredible, nature that it was being kept from the public and from members of Congress outside of the special committee.

"Mr. President, upon reading your bill, (for reorganizing our government) my first conclusion was that it must be a forgery. So far as I know, it is the most remarkable legislative proposal that has been made by any president. For, not by inference or indirection, but in plain language, it authorizes you not merely to reorganize, but, by executive order, to abolish, or to change the name and functions of every agency and office in the entire executive branch of the government – without consulting Congress—including those agencies and offices which have been created by Congress during the last 149 years to do the country's business.

"And, what is still more incredible, it permits you to abolish, or change the functions of, the office of President, despite the fact that the presidency is a constitutional office, whose functions are described and bounded by the Constitution. . . .

"Mr. President, your draft of the Executive Reorganization bill gives you life and death power over the ten federal departments, War, State, Labor, et cetera; over the Tariff Commission, the Court of Claims, the Communications Commission, and all other boards and commissions. It even presents you with the Library of Congress. This, like the rest, you can reorganize, abolish in whole or in part, or change in name and function, without leave of Congress.

"Likewise, it permits you to create any number of new 'receiving agencies', and to transfer existing agencies and their functions and appropriations to them. Under the bill you could, for instance, establish a new receiving agency headed, we will say, by your secretary, Mr. James Roosevelt, and transfer to his charge the army, or the navy, or the Federal Reserve, or the Communications Commission, or the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, and those various other agencies which loan money and allocate the vast sums which are spent for public works and other forms of relief. Or, if you preferred, you could rid the government of any or all of these agencies by merely signing your name to a piece of paper. . . . .

"Mr. President, in brief summation, all the evidence shows that your draft of the reorganization bill was designed—and deliberately designed—to strip Congress of power and centralize control in the White House. If passed, it would unquestionably transform the government into a dictatorship. And I defy any competent person to read your bill without arriving at this conclusion. . . .

"Mr. President, you ask very rightly for co-operation, and for confidence in the government. And all men and women of good will should work for that end. But how can there be confidence when the Chief Executive himself proposes to undermine the government and the principles of democracy on which it rests?

"Will you not therefore, in the interest of the public, withdraw your recommendation for executive reorganization, and let the country concentrate on recovery?

Sincerely yours,
AMOS PINCHOT."
New York, N. Y.
January 29, 1938

AS FOR MYSELF, I both agree and disagree with Mr. Pinchot. In nowise do I favor the plan of creating a President endowed with dictatorial powers. Personally, I fear dictators because I love liberty. Today I stand as I did three years ago when I first pointed out these dictatorial trends on the part of the New Deal, and therefore opposed them because I am convinced that no single human being has been born intelligent enough and powerful enough to direct peacefully and prosperously the citizens and destinies of this vast nation. I can conceive of a successful dictator in a small state such as Rhode Island, or possibly, in a small nation such as Italy or Austria. But my mind grows confused when I endeavor to comprehend the practicality of our President's being vested with such tremendous powers as indicated in Mr. Pinchot's letter and in the proposed bill now before Congress.

Waiving a detailed mention of the dangers attendant to America should such a bill be passed by Congress, it is my firm belief that no dictator, be he constitutionally or unconstitutionally instituted in office, could survive more than two years in this nation. Through the frailties of human nature, if not through the machinations of malice, he would be responsible for so many misdeeds and so much turmoil that the citizens would seek his retirement from office, if necessary, by physical force.

However, I maintain that some reorganization of government is necessary. I have drawn this conclusion from premises which are apparent to all persons. Granting that Congress is composed of men who are ordinarily virtuous; granting that the President and his Cabinet are sincere and conscientious; granting that the majority of their predecessors in office enjoyed the same qualifications, the results of the system of government under which they were compelled to operate are strewn around us in the concentration of wealth, in the multiplication of paupers, in the tragedy of want amidst plenty and in the legal obstacles preventing the basic law of supply and demand to operate.

For generation after generation we have been content to blame the personnel of government for these evils and to replace Democrats with Republicans or Republicans with Democrats with the hope of remedying our national ills. Bitter experience now forces us to the conclusion that the personnel of government is not so much to blame as is the system of government.

Unreasonably we have identified this system with the word, "democracy"—a catch word publicized by the privileged few who have profited at the expense of the exploited many.

What is democracy? It is best described in the classical words of Abraham Lincoln: "A government of the people, by the people and for the people." In its final analysis, democracy means that the majority of citizens can select that type of government which will function best for the common good with the understanding that the citizens always hold the constitutional right to change the system of government when deliberate choice of the majority decides to do so.

That our present government is not "for the people" is evidenced by the concentration of wealth and the continuation of successive depressions of which we are aware. That the present species of democracy is not "of the people" but of the privileged classes is evidenced by the partisanship, the favoritism and the class hatred long since cultivated by that system.

My friends, we have witnessed the deterioration of representative government which no longer represents the majority of our people but which contents itself with protecting the sanctity of debts and of bonds to the detriment of 95 per cent of our population.

WE HAVE observed that so-called democracy has shrunk to the stature of a party form of government under a system which permits it to pledge promises when candidates seek the tenure of office and to disregard them totally once the offices have been secured.

Under such a system, democracy degenerated to the point where the citizens, every four years, were privileged to exercise their rights only to the extent of determining whether the Republicans or the Democrats and their supporters would be the chief beneficiaries of the enormous expenditures levied against the taxpayers of the country.

Under such debased conditions, democracy permitted us to vote against

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rate State

E. Coughlin

a party but always forced us to prolong the life of a system that was sapping our resources, our liberties and our lives.

These observations truthfully characterize both the Old Deal of rugged individualism and the New Deal of inefficient representation which, because of their partisanship, shackled our legislative body to the rock of do-nothing-ism.

Therefore government has become so misrepresentative, under the fiction of democracy, that the dramatic hour has arrived to reorganize it so that it will be possible to enjoy the benedictions of a real democracy.

Time will not permit my giving you a full, detailed exposition of the changes which I have in mind. Nevertheless, the outline which I shall present, while revolutionary in many of its aspects, will be developed in the near future in the pages of SOCIAL JUSTICE Magazine. Moreover, I am inviting all citizens and all lovers of social justice to organize for the adoption or the rejection of these plans, because I am satisfied that this is the historic moment for our present form of inefficient government to submit to a change either towards the radical left or towards the progressive right.

Are the changes which I propose within the scope of the Constitution of the United States? Are they concerned only with the Presidency and Congress, or do they comprehend other officials?

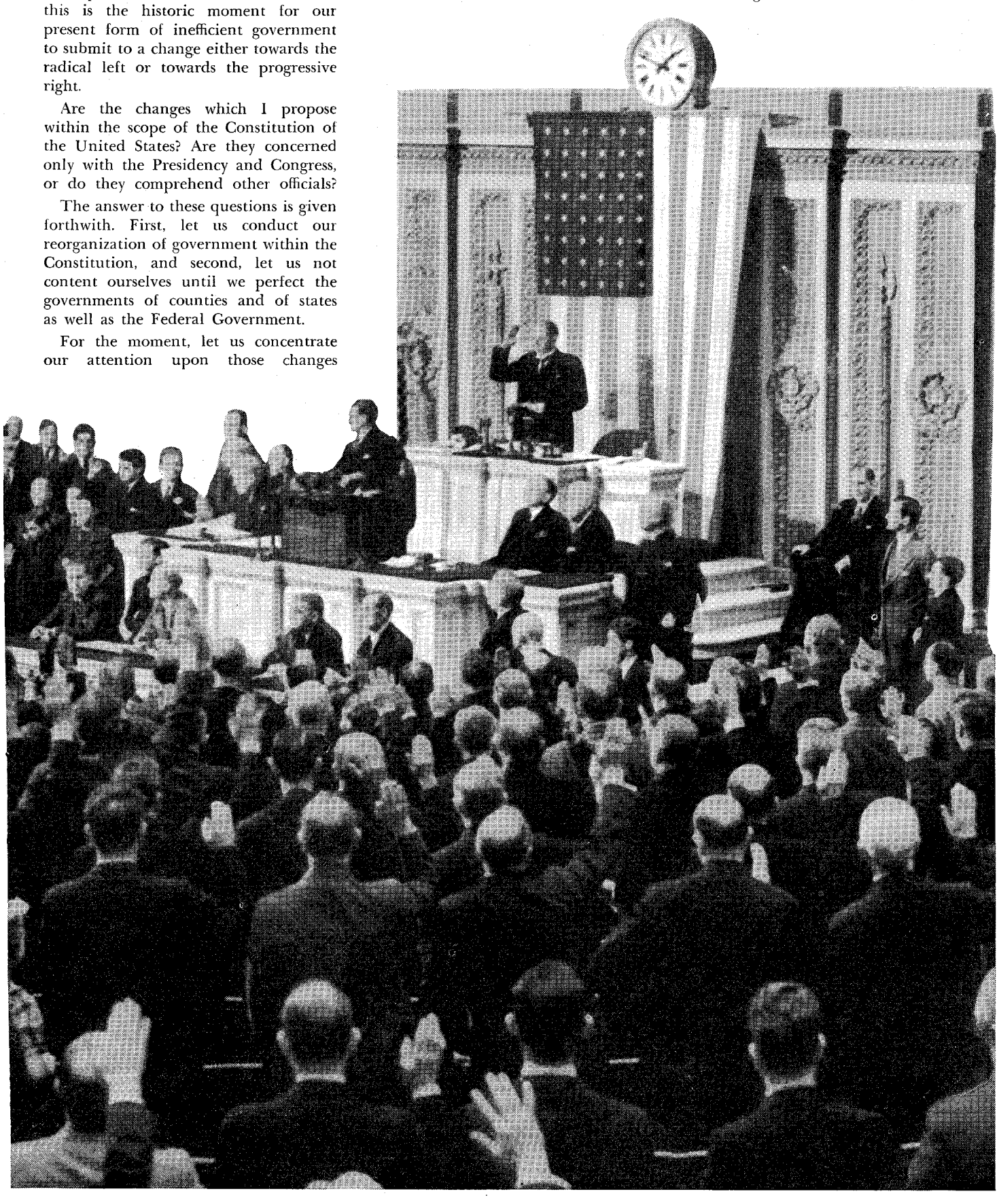
The answer to these questions is given forthwith. First, let us conduct our reorganization of government within the Constitution, and second, let us not content ourselves until we perfect the governments of counties and of states as well as the Federal Government.

For the moment, let us concentrate our attention upon those changes affecting the Federal Government only.

First, I propose that we abandon the inefficient system of parties. As a matter of fact, the party system of government was not specifically contemplated by the founding fathers of our Constitution. The origin and development of party-ism was an abuse in the beginning and an abomination at the end. Instead of having the American voters divided artificially into Democrats and Republicans and "what-nots," I propose to have them divided naturally into groups according to vocations and professions.

This proposal means that it will be necessary to change our entire system of electing members to the House of Representatives. Now, the general population, living in any given congressional district, votes for a representative who is a Democrat or a "what-not," and the results are best described as mass misrepresentation.

FOR THAT system I would substitute the system of the Corporate State election. This means that instead of being divided into congressional districts, citizens would be divided according to their classification in society. Textile workers must form one class; steel workers, another; motor workers, a third; miners, a fourth; cotton farmers, a fifth; grain farmers, a sixth, etc. Each class of citizens grouped according to its present calling in life will have a representative in Congress whose business it will be really to represent that class.



Moreover, the owners of each industry such as motors, steel, mining, will have equal representation in Congress. Representatives, therefore, will be elected not by the obsolete and artificial rule of mass population, but according to the scientific and practical principle of class representation.

No more political parties with their interminable wranglings, their broken pledges and their tragic inefficiency!

No more antagonism of class against class!

A Corporate State means class for class—class co-operation; it means capital for labor and labor for capital working in harmony; it means the masses for the classes and the classes for the masses operating under the principle of class co-operation.

Representation according to class instead of misrepresentation according to mass demands that the various classes organize as such. A Corporate State pre-supposes that the classes incorporate. This system is predicated upon the organization of steel workers in one compact union; of motor workers in another; of textile workers in a third; of grain farmers, of cotton farmers, of livestock farmers, of professional men in other corporative groups.

It also means the corporative grouping of motor industrialists, of steel industrialists, of railroad owners. Each capitalist will be in his own class organized corporatively; each laborer in his class likewise will be organized in a corporation.

Local units of each corporation will form state units; and state units will form national units, in which both the capitalists have their organizations and the laborers will have theirs. From these organizations they will freely select their own representatives for Congress.

At the expense of repetition, keep these points clearly in mind: I am proposing to abolish party-ism with its election of representatives according to mass population and with its resulting mass inefficiency. I am proposing to establish a form of representation according to class vocation which guarantees every class representation.

Instead of abolishing Congress through the institution of a dictatorship, let us perfect Congress, our legislative body. This will not be possible, however, unless the majority of citizens in every class organizes in a corporative unit.

MY SECOND proposal is related to the presidency of the United States. According to our Constitution the

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Highlights of the Broadcast

It is my firm belief that no dictator could survive more than two years in this nation. Through frailties of human nature, if not through the machinations of malice, he would be responsible for so much turmoil that citizens would seek his retirement from office, if necessary, by physical force.

* * * *

I propose to abolish party-ism with its election of representatives according to mass population, and to establish a form of representation according to class vocation.

* * * *

The origin and development of party-ism was an abuse in the beginning and an abomination at the end.

* * * *

I propose that we abandon the electoral college and transfer the power of electing the President of the United States to the House of Representatives.

* * * *

I propose that Congress will declare a ten year moratorium on all federal bond payments and interest payments, thereby enabling industry and commerce, labor and agriculture, to husband their resources and profits in this battle not only against depression but against the bulwarks of civilization itself.

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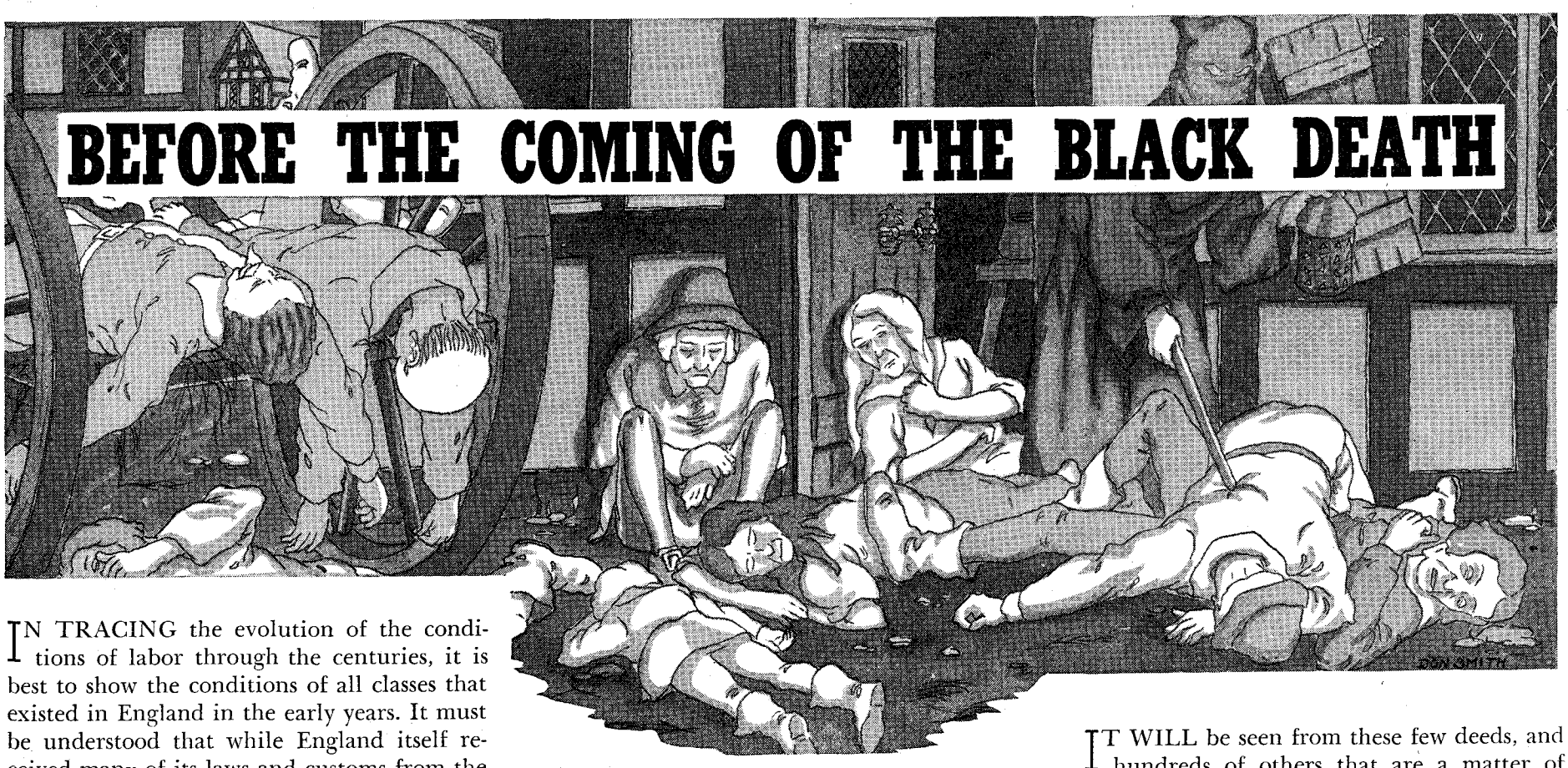

BEFORE THE COMING OF THE BLACK DEATH

by Joseph Bondy

The Evolution of the Englishman From Slavery to Freedom 1066 — 1348

IN TRACING the evolution of the conditions of labor through the centuries, it is best to show the conditions of all classes that existed in England in the early years. It must be understood that while England itself received many of its laws and customs from the Continent, we in America received most of our laws and customs from England.

In the early years prior to the Norman Conquest and for many years thereafter, LABOR might well mean agricultural labor; for that class of laborers whom we know now as craftsmen were few and far between. The cities themselves were crude and poorly organized. Here and there in each of the primitive cities a crude craftsman such as a blacksmith, goldsmith or weaver, eked out a livelihood. However, the great majority—possibly 90 per cent—of the laborers of England prior to and including the Sixteenth Century were those who lived upon and tilled the soil.

There is some question as to whether there were serfs in the early dawn of Saxon England, as in England after the Norman Conquest. To a small degree there must have been serfdom, by which is meant slavery of those bound to the soil. That there were slaves in Saxon England is without question; but these were men upon whom a penalty was inflicted for violation of the law or because of debt. There were some few descendants of prisoners brought into England by the Roman Conqueror. Under the name of Ceorls they might be likened to the serfs of the Feudal System that came into England after 1066.

In Anglo-Saxon times, however, serfs or Ceorls had some rights; among them was the right to apply to a court to redress any wrong that the overlord might have committed against them. In Norman times the overlord had absolute power over the serfs, the power of sale, of life and death; and the serf had no redress in any court.

After 1066, many of the agricultural laborers were bound to the soil and were chattel slaves. This did not apply to all of the farm laborers but did apply to a vast majority of them. So abject was their state that they could be sold with the land to which they were bound or separately from the land. This condition existed well into the Sixteenth Century.

We read in the ancient records many deeds conveying those bound to the soil. Deeds conveying chattel slaves read as follows: "Know that we have sold to William, Squire to the Lord Nichols Noers, you, the shepherd, our serf of the Manor of Certelle with all his chattels and livestock . . . for which sale and quit-claim the aforesaid William hath given us four shillings Sterling," or

"Know that I in my widowhood and full power have sold to the Abbot of Bruerne for 20 shillings Richard, Son of William de Eastend of Linham, my man, with all his chattels and livestock," or

"I, Dame Aundrine de Driby, formerly wife to Robert de Driby in my lawful poor and free widowhood have given, granted and quitclaimed to my well beloved . . . Henry Cole of Baston for their service Agnes, daughter of Jordan Blanet of Baston and Simon, her son, dwelling at Stamford with all their chattels and livestock and all claims of serfdom and villeinage which all of my heirs have or might have had therein . . . yet so that neither I, Aundrine, nor my heirs, nor any man on my part or theirs may henceforth exact any claim of serfdom or villeinage in the said Agnes and Simon or in their chattels, stock, suits and *issues.*" These three instruments were executed in the Fourteenth Century.

This is the first of six articles outlining the story of the laboring man in early England. It is one author's viewpoint.

The scope of the accompanying discussion is necessarily much epitomized. The subject matter is of sufficient importance to have warranted many years of research and the writing of many long and interesting books, each treating of a principal phase of the subject here only briefly discussed.

If some great student of antiquity—learned in the lore of the long neglected chroniclers and historians—would delve deeply into the many hundreds of books and records that are still extant and would write the results of his research as fully as they deserve to be written, much light would be thrown upon the conditions as they exist today. For, in the back lanes of history and in the pages of books long since forgotten, the evolution of our customs and laws beginning in the ages of the past still exert the force of their great influence upon present day conditions.

In these forgotten books, if properly studied and properly applied, may be found a remedy for many of our present day problems that seem to us to be almost impossible of solution, and which might possibly be solved and would certainly be ameliorated, by applying the wisdom of the olden days.

—The Editor.

IT WILL be seen from these few deeds, and hundreds of others that are a matter of record, that in the early days it was lawful to sell human beings and their issue. Some deeds of conveyances might read "with this demesne goeth Thammas, the shepherd, John, the plowman, or Peter, the herder, *with their wenches and their broods.*"

The soil where this labor wrought provided only "A means of living but of living mean."

It will be seen from this that in the very early days labor, represented in the greater degree by farm labor, lived in abject poverty, squalor, misery and want. These wretched beings were only allowed to live because they were necessary to the comfort and well-being of the noble, the gentry and their kind.

It is interesting to note at this time a fact that has followed all down through the centuries—that the early craftsmen who fashioned the armor to be worn by the knight or the fighting man was the best paid and conditioned of all the laborers; and of necessity (a fact which has held true throughout the ages) the armorer—the maker of arms, armor, and the implements of war and destruction—always profited more than any other artificer. This condition existed in England long before 1066 when William, the Conqueror, won the Battle of Hastings and existed for many hundreds of years after 1066; possibly even unto the present day.

We know that God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform; and the beginning of the end of the abject chattel slavery of the laborer came in what was first looked upon as the most terrible calamity that had ever come upon the world. Yet the good that this great calamity wrought, if measured with the one fact that it gave to the laborer in an indirect way his first chance for emancipation and independence, gives us great cause to feel that humanity cannot and should not analyze any great seeming evil; for in the end what has seemed so terrible may be the foundation for a truly great and much to be desired end.

IN THESE early days, the cities of England were merely collections of huts rudely built and gathered about the stone castle of the Lord of the Manor. These castles were generally built upon a hillside and of solid masonry so that they could resist and withstand the onslaught of armies with the most effective weapons of that day. There were no comforts as we know them. No thoughts of hygiene or cleanliness in the huts of the laborer or anywhere else. In the poorer huts there was

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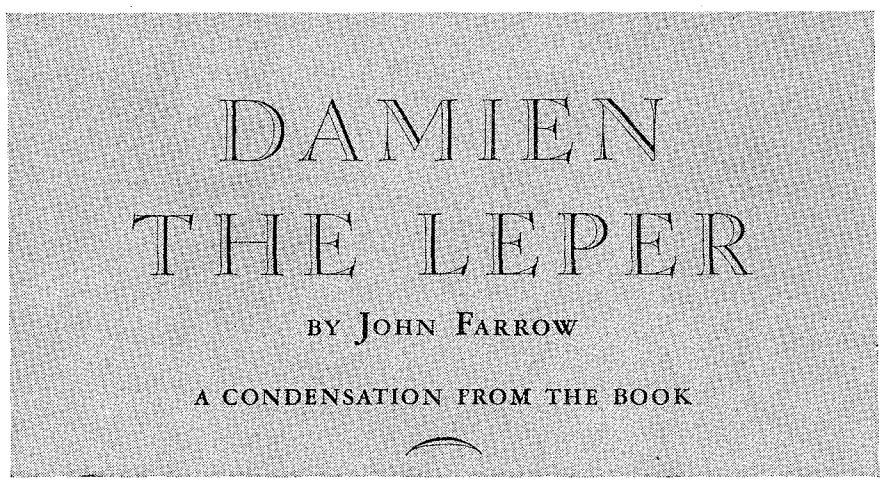
SYNOPSIS *Damien de Veuster at the age of twenty-three left Belgium for the Hawaiian Islands, determined to be of service to others. Hardship and dangers, whether of the jungles or of the sea, were never too great for him as he labored untiringly among the natives of Puno and Kohala. At the latter place he showed unmatched bravery and cleverness in foiling the witch-doctor's diabolical attempt upon his life. It was in 1873, when he was just thirty-three, that he made the supreme sacrifice of his life, consigning himself irrevocably to what even the lepers considered a hell on earth, the frightful leper settlement on the Island of Molokai. But that hell, under his sympathetic and practical genius, was transformed into a livable habitation, for with him came new homes, sufficiency of food and drink, order, decency, and above all, hope and cheerfulness.*



Published in 1937, at $2.50, by Sheed and Ward, Inc., 65 Fifth Avenue, New York

CHAPTER SIX

NOT LEAST among Damien's reforms at Molokai was his success in removing the fear of death from the minds of his parishioners. The paralyzing effects of despair and hopelessness that had been so characteristic of the settlement were dissolved before his continual persuasions that the hardships of disease were but passing incidents on the threshold of a new and eternal life; a life that the Divine compassion made it possible for all to enter. With the magic of hope even the daily funeral ceremonies took on somewhat of a festive air.

He founded two different associations having for their object the carrying out of burials in a becoming manner. The idea of the plurality was that, with his usual shrewdness, he saw that if there were only one such organization, enthusiasm might flag, but with two the spirit of competition would always hold the interest.

In Honolulu the Bishop had collected drums, flutes, guitars, and even a few brass horns; the Sisters sent ribbons and gaily colored cloths; and at the settlement it soon became a great privilege to be allowed to join the padre's burial associations. Feminine members wore red and white sashes, and the men usually played or carried some instrument in the band.

The Hawaiians are noted for their love of music in all its forms. Damien was quick to utilize this trait in his war against the spirit of pessimism. He formed choirs that were in reality entire community groups of singers, and almost every evening a crowd of men, women, and children would gather under the trees near the church. Their language so soft and harmonious, is admirably suited for chanting, and to the European ear the plaintive quality that marks almost all their songs had a note of sadness that is not unpleasant.

Never was there an occasion missed that might serve as an opportunity for a celebration of some sort. That of the Corpus Christi was a particularly gay affair, attended by everybody in the colony who could walk. As it was one of the great events of the year, the villages would be busy with preparations for weeks in advance. Flowers would be collected and woven into fragrant wreaths, special clothes would be fashioned for the acolytes, and sashes and rosettes made for all. The actual day would be noisy with drums and bright with flags, there would be singing under the direction of a blind leper (writes Damien) who is very clever at directing music, and who does it with perfect precision and sureness. . . .

AT THE commencement of his third year at the settlement, Damien was notified that the Bishop, having received the necessary permission, intended to pay him an official visit of several days' duration. It was the first time such an important dignitary had signified an intention of staying at the colony, and the lepers intended to show their gratitude by making his visit the most gala, for them, of occasions.

The great morning arrived (June 8, 1875) when the steamer anchored off the shore. Every inmate of the settlement who could walk was on the rocky beach to greet the venerable Bishop. The band played, flags waved, and as Monseigneur Maigret affectionately greeted Damien, a cheer was offered. All that day the settlement was inspected. Although Damien belittled his own work, still he came in for a great measure of praise when one of the older natives surprised the gathering with a speech, thanking the Bishop for sending Damien:

"He overwhelms us," said the man in his own language, "with his solicitous care, and he himself builds our houses. When any one of us is ill, he gives him tea, biscuits, and sugar; and to the poor he gives clothes. He makes do distinction between Catholics and Protestants."

On Sunday the Bishop pontificated amidst a display of splendor, as the leper choir creditably rendered one of Mozart's Masses. And before the day was over he confirmed 135 of the newly baptized.

The episcopal stay lasted five days in all, but before he left, he gave Damien a little money to set about building a house to serve as an orphanage for the homeless youngsters of the settlement.

When it was completed, Damien installed an elderly woman, widow of a leper, to act as a combination cook, housekeeper, and matron. Of a necessity this institution was very small at the commencement and only a few inmates could be accepted. These were selected from the most pitiable cases among the girl children, and for them the Government agent was persuaded to issue an official weekly ration of meat and *taro*. To supplement this meager and sometimes irregular fare, Damien planted a large field of sweet potatoes. Soon he was able to build a similar home for the boys. In the course of years both institutions were repeatedly increased in size until, eventually, they were to be splendidly staffed with nurses and schoolmasters.

Not one of the reforms established by him was accomplished with ease, and having been established, not one would have survived a week without his aggressive support. He brought order to this lawless and abandoned community, but to his death there remained desperate characters who sought, by every conceivable means, to outwit him or his work.

He lived, of course, with the utmost simplicity. Two meals a day were his limit; a late morning meal, usually consisting of rice, meat, coffee, and a few "hard tack" biscuits; and in the evening he would "take what was left at dinner."

Whilst he had his evening meal, it was the daily custom for a score or so of the natives to come and visit him. Squatting in a circle around him, for he ate outdoors, they would regale each other and him with noisy stories, anecdotes and ancient folklore. Good-humored arguments might take place, a guitar perhaps would tinkle, and always, sooner or later, songs would be chanted. These gatherings, just before dusk, grew to be such popular functions that they acquired, in the native language, the poetic name of "Time-of-peace-between-night-and-day."

After he had finished eating, Damien would brew over a small lamp a kettle of tea. As six battered cups were all he possessed, it would become a matter of boisterous competition among his guests to decide who was to drink with him. His pipe would be lit and anybody was free to borrow it for a few puffs.

He showed the same hospitality to all and in everything. The door of his hut was never locked, and as he was absent most of the day, he let it be known that anybody who so wished could enter and rest on his bed. By this time he seems to have been absolutely without fear as far as the disease was concerned.

IN 1881 the Regent of Hawaii, Princess Liliuokalani, who in the absence of her brother, King Kalahaua, on a world tour, ably ruled the Islands, signified her intention of visiting Molokai. The officials were profoundly surprised, even shocked. But the idea proved to be highly popular with the rest of her subjects, who crowded the harbor front of Honolulu at her departure, waving farewells and shouting approval at the Princess' thoughtful and courageous act.

Damien worked feverishly in making preparations for his distinguished guest. When her ship anchored off Molokai, she could see a crowd of some 800 lepers, all of the colony able to walk, drawn up on the beach to receive her. The sashes and the banners of the burial associations had been utilized for the occasion, and of course the band was in great evidence. Near the landing stood a triumphal arch festooned with wild flowers; around it the less terrifying of the lepers formed a guard of honor. The children were placed to scatter flowers along the pathway of the Royal procession.

As the Princess was rowed ashore, cheers were given and her name shouted with wild enthusiasm, the band blaring the National Anthem. The ovation continued as she set foot on the beach and, after having greeted Damien, was escorted by him through the garlanded arch, past the guard of honor to a dais that had been especially erected for this moment.

Standing on the platform, the Princess gazed upon the sea of disease-ravaged yet cheerful, faces that were so eagerly turned to her and so obviously waiting for the words that never came, for try as she could, the Princess was not able to find voice. Her lips trembled and tears flooded her eyes, and turning to one of her staff, she made a gesture for him to speak in her stead.

The schedule of the visit called for only one hour ashore, but she insisted on remaining the entire day, with Damien showing her almost every part of the settlement. The horror of seeing those unfortunate beings who were in the advanced stages of the disease was spared her as much as possible, although once, while passing the open doors of the "hospital," she saw something that forced her to turn away and seek the arm of a lady-in-waiting for support. And it was then she told Damien it was hard to believe that anyone should stay in this tragic place of his own free will. Her words were a tribute but he seemed puzzled.

"It is my work," he explained with simplicity. "You see, Madame, they are my parishioners."

Before replying, her eyes roved from him to the pitiful crowd that followed close behind.

"Your parishioners," she said softly, "and my people."

That night amid chanting of *oliolis*, tales of the glories of her royal ancestors, and flanked by leprous torch-bearers, the Princess took leave of her subjects.

Before the month was out, the Princess conferred on Damien, in public recognition of his great heroism, the jewelled insignia of the Royal Order of Kalakaua. Much to his discomfort and before the interesting eyes of his parishioners Damien was formally invested with the insignia of the decoration on the steps of his chapel at Kalawao by Bishop Koeckmann, the new Co-adjutor-Bishop.

The Bishop sternly commanded him to wear the medal, but that night it was placed back in its box, and there it remained, never to be seen again, until discovered after his death.

Always he deplored any form of publicity, and when his brother allowed one of his letters to be printed in a journal, he wrote to him: "Once for all let me tell you that I do not like that done. I want to be unknown to the world, and now I find, in consequence of the few letters I have written, that I am being talked about on all sides, even in America."

AS A RESULT of the Princess' visit, Damien had great hopes for the future of the settlement, but as the months and the years passed, the consciousness slowly came to him that the good will of royalty does not necessarily mean the help of governments. It is true that after the Regent's visit there was an improvement in the Board of Health's attitude toward the colony, but nothing near what he had hoped for. Humanity seemed determined to ignore the existence of lepers.

IT WAS in the year 1885, on the morning of the first Sunday in June that he was celebrating early Mass in the chapel at Kalawao in his usual manner. It was a hot day. In the sultry, crowded interior, the congregation, all of whom were invalids in varying stages of the disease, probably welcomed the relaxation that comes with the end of the Gospel. Perhaps, even there were a few that, with a torpor induced by the heat, might have been inclined to drowsiness as the priest, standing before the altar, divested himself of chasuble and maniple in preparation for the sermon. But after he had advanced to the sanctuary rail (he had no pulpit), and began to talk, all signs of lethargy among his listeners quickly vanished. There was a sudden shocked stir, for instead of addressing them with the usual *My brethren*, he had said, slowly and significantly, *We lepers*. . . .

It was his way of telling them that he had contracted their disease.

(Continued Next Week)

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The Country Which Removes God From the Minds of Men Lumps All Citizens Into the Form of Slave

SOME weeks ago, according to all press reports, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York indulged in the Socratic method of asking himself questions and answering them. There was really no need for the rabbi to ask himself any questions because there are at least a hundred questions which the rabbi's fellow citizens in New York City would like to propose to him.

One of these questions would be: "For whom do you speak, Rabbi Wise, when you speak?" Another would be: "If you speak for yourself, Rabbi Wise, will you not preface your weekly Delphic oracles with such a necessary qualification?"

We do not believe that Rabbi Wise speaks for the Jewish population of the City of New York or of the United States, or even of his own synagogue. Day by day many of his coreligionists find themselves obligated to repudiate certain stands taken by the rabbi.

One of these sore spots was catapulted into existence by the answers which Rabbi Wise gave to his own questions concerning the attitude of himself towards the possibility of Fascism, Communism and Democracy in the United States.

"To Fascism," said Rabbi Wise, "we say 'No.'"

"To Communism," said Rabbi Wise, "we say 'Maybe.'"

"To Democracy," said Rabbi Wise, "we say 'Yes.'"

One of these answers is wrong. On a true and false test in Americanism Rabbi Wise would have been rated at 66 2/3 per cent.

The American answer to these questions is as follows:

"To Fascism—'No.'"

"To Communism—'No.'"

"To Democracy—'Yes.'"

NO American, Catholic or Protestant, or Jew, wants the slightest growth, let alone the ultimate victory, of either Fascism or Communism in the United States. At the present time real Americans are desirous of two things: the establishment of social justice in the United States and the preservation of our present American form of constitutional democracy.

For the sake of those whose minds have been warped by the prejudiced international news agencies of the world, and by too many of their satellites in the world of the American press, we must emphasize the fact that Christianity has always been the open and avowed and tireless foe of dictatorships.

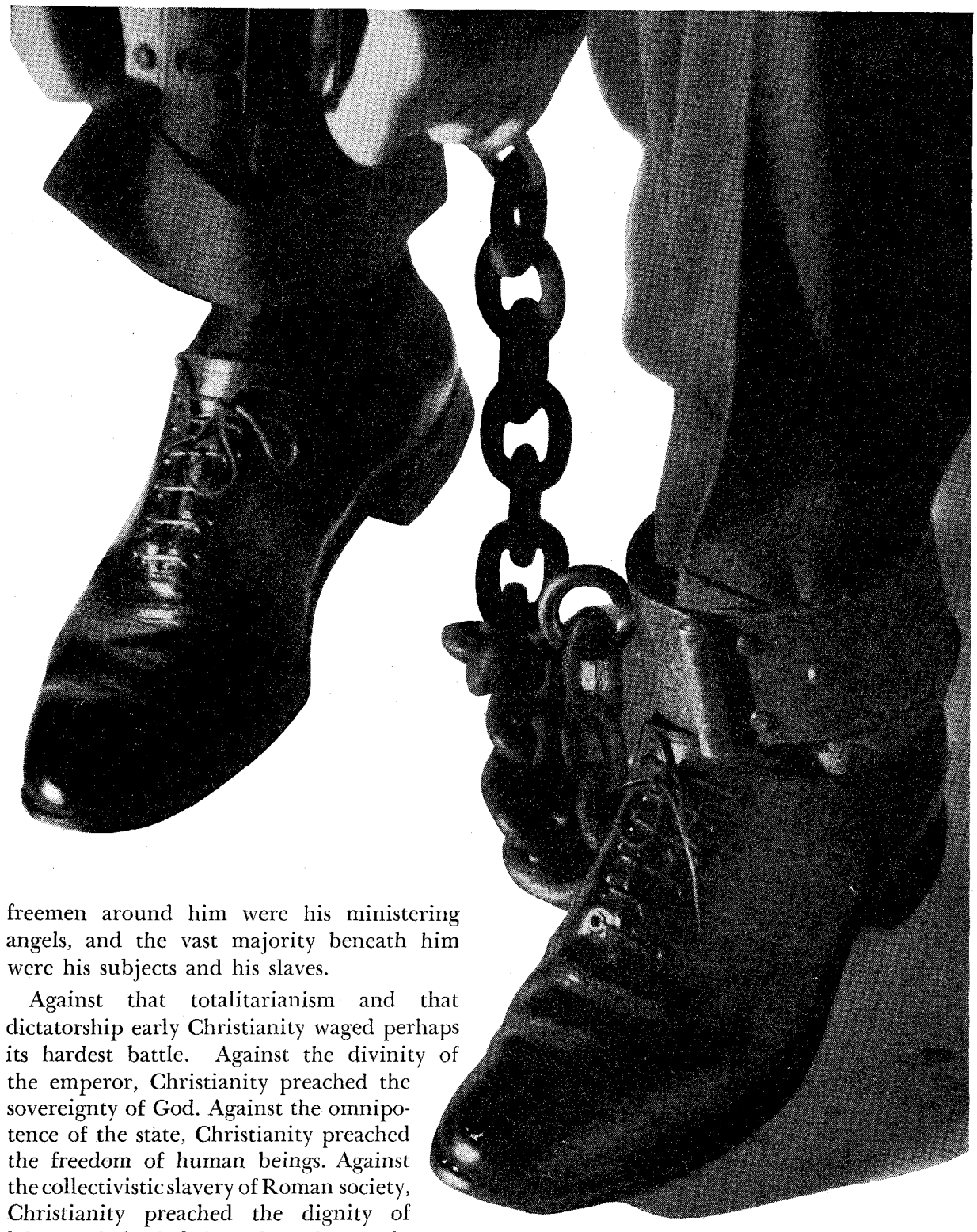
Nineteen hundred years ago, at the very birth of Christianity, the first world problem which met the newly-founded church was the necessity of opposing the dictatorship and totalitarianism of the pagan Roman empire.

The pagan Roman empire was built upon a slave population. Ninety-five to 90 per cent of the people in supposedly democratic Athens were slaves. Athenian democracy was confined to only 10 or 15 per cent of the Athenians. The same slave population lasted over in the framework of the pagan Roman empire.

The very word "laborer" or "worker" was synonymous with slave. Even the Greek teachers or pedagogues of the children of wealthy Roman families were registered as slaves. The collectivist outlook upon humanity permeated the length and breadth of the pagan Roman empire. The Roman emperor was decreed to be God, the few

THE CHRISTIAN FRONT

by Edward Lodge Curran, Ph. D.



freemen around him were his ministering angels, and the vast majority beneath him were his subjects and his slaves.

Against that totalitarianism and that dictatorship early Christianity waged perhaps its hardest battle. Against the divinity of the emperor, Christianity preached the sovereignty of God. Against the omnipotence of the state, Christianity preached the freedom of human beings. Against the collectivistic slavery of Roman society, Christianity preached the dignity of labor and the infinite value of every human being. God does not merely love humanity, said Christianity. God loves every single, individual, isolated human being. Against worship of the emperor and slavish worship of the Roman state, Christianity preached love of God and love of neighbor. Against human slavery, Christianity sounded the call for social justice.

For three hundred years, the battle between Christianity and totalitarianism went on. The arenas of the modern world are not the first, and probably will not be the last, on which Christianity must lock itself in a death struggle against state dictatorship and pagan totalitarianism.

In the end, despite its ostracism to the catacombs of Rome, and despite the savage brutality of the persecutions in the coliseum and elsewhere, Christianity conquered. The doctrine of the sovereignty of God had conquered the pagan dictatorship. The doctrine of the infinite value of each human being had conquered the collectivistic enslavement of the masses. Eternal justice and social justice had carried the day.

And out of these same doctrines Christianity gradually developed the seeds of democracy.

WHEN we think of democracy, our minds and memories naturally turn to the opening clauses and sentences of our own American Declaration of Independence.

There we find the statement that all men are created free and equal. There we find that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. There we find that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

These are the planks of the platform of true democracy. And everyone of these planks is hewn from the essential teachings of Christianity concerning the sovereignty of God and the infinite value of every individual.

This connection between Christianity and democracy is no mere literary parallelism. The same specific teachings concerning government which we come upon in the opening of the American Declaration of Independence are found, sometimes word for word, in the Catholic philosophy of Saint Robert Bellarmine, a Cardinal of the Catholic Church. The democratic teaching of Bellarmine had antagonized King James of

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INDIVIDUALISTS TO BLAME

To the Editor:

The business men of our nation went to Washington and asked the President to pile everything on their side of the scale and then balance the budget. They yell "regimentation" every time the Government attempts to correct a wrong, yet regimentation is practiced in every home, on every farm, and in every factory in our nation.

Even we are not a one-piece contraption. We cannot let one leg go where it pleases, but must have it regimented into co-ordination with the rest of the body.

We cannot have democracy without regimentation any more than we can have fascism without a dictator. The quality of any product is in the regimentation of parts of equal strength. Democracy is only as strong as the bond that ties us together. If one of our bonds loosen, we must fasten it or it will weaken the rest of the structure.

Our present trouble is caused by the breaking of these bonds, not by some other nationalists, but by our own individualists. Equality and balance are required in every creation of man or nature if it is to survive. Corporation and co-operation are not twins even though they look alike. We must emphasize and practice co-operation if democracy is to live on.

P. F.

Highland Park, Mich.

HE BELONGED

To the Editor:

I joined the Communist Party nearly four years ago just to satisfy myself as to the aims and principles of this organization.

The members were given to understand that membership was limited to those with no wealth, and those who did not make a practice of attending church.

Their teachings, in part, are as follows: the complete abolition of our present government, the abolition of all religion and churches; to force all ministers of the Gospel to take a pick and shovel and work for their living, confiscate all property—private and public properties will go to the government—and set up a dictatorship paralleling that in the Soviet Union.

—M. R.

Minneapolis, Minn.

COMMUNISM'S STRENGTH

To the Editor:

When I read your "Housing Act a Hoax," I was very pleased to see the truth so well presented to the readers of Social Justice magazine.

You can easily understand the position that I, a young contractor and builder, find myself in. How can I earn a living by inducing people to build and repair homes, when I know that the Government, operating through the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Act, like a hungry wolf, is ready to devour them at the first possible misstep.

In justice to my clients, I do not like to urge them to borrow money from these sources, and yet I am committing grave error when I fail to earn a livelihood for my family. I cannot choose one without feeling that I am wronging the other.

All these things certainly contribute to the causes of Communism—the homeowner loses faith in his government and becomes easy prey to the Communistic cry of "equality for all under Communism."

—W. J. M.

Fall River, Mass.

HOW WAR EVOLVES

To the Editor:

There is now no reasonable relationship between the quantity of money in circulation and the quantity of goods to be exchanged. Under the present system of private money control, the quantity of money in circulation depends on the pleasure of the few who control that quantity.

But the "pleasure" of the few who control the quantity of money in circulation is private profits and scarcity. Hence, the quantity of money in circulation depends on private profits and scarcity. When power over the quantity of money is exercised with a view to private profits and scarcity and with no consideration for the common good, widespread unemployment with its lamentable consequences is the result.

Control over the quantity of money in circulation is the life of production, of employment and of the purchasing power of wage earners. Private control is a headstrong and vehement power which threatens further depressions, mass unemployment, the ruination of prosperity and the endangering of public order.

To expect this economic power to change suddenly is to expect a miracle. The few who control the quantity of money are not responsible to society.

This supreme power, which prefers itself to the very life of society, cannot be curbed and governed by itself.

First, there is the struggle for monopoly and restriction of competition; then the relentless battle for monopoly over money, so that the resources of government and society itself may be abused in the desire for gain; then the fierce rivalry for monopoly over international finance, and finally—world war.

H. Aremack

Detroit, Mich.

KEEP THE FARMER POOR

To the Editor:

We established a Department of Agriculture, several decades ago, to increase the productivity of our soil. The theory behind that undertaking was that if we could make two blades of grass grow where one grew before, we would increase our wealth.

Not only were our farm crops improved, but all livestock and poultry were improved. The appropriations for this service have run up into millions of dollars, and now we are spending a billion dollars to undo this fine work.

We were told that our farmers' troubles were due to over-production. The persons responsible for the psychology that scarcity is the road to advancement and wealth, will be held responsible for the poverty that such a system is sure to produce.

Could not the 40 millions of our undernourished and ill-clad citizens soon clean up any surplus farm crops that seem to retard our progress?

The present farm bill will keep the poor farmer poor. Under it, no tenant will ever become a farm owner and the urban population will suffer unemployment for the lack of surplus wealth, the only element that makes the wheels of industry turn.

—Harry Strom

Moline, Ill.

INTEREST NEEDS REDUCTION

To the Editor:

Some time ago a law was passed that savings banks were not permitted to give more than 2 per cent interest on money deposited in their savings accounts, but we are still paying these same banks 6 per cent on mortgages.

If the State or Federal Government would enact a law as to the amount of interest allowed on money deposited in savings accounts, they should also regulate the amount paid on mortgages.

It seems to me that there is no good reason why the rate of interest on loans should not be reduced.

A. F. K.

New York, N. Y.

DELIBERATE SECRECY

To the Editor:

Ignorance of the function of money has not been accidental. The bankers built a wall of secrecy around their craft and allowed no one outside their own fraternity to learn their secrets.

They purposely kept a knowledge of it out of schools and universities; and the textbooks written under their direction and used in the universities were so difficult to understand that students gave up the study of monetary policies, economics and political science in disgust.

I wish that you would give some space in your new magazine to tell us about the set-up, character and functions of holding companies.

R. T. Barry

New York, N. Y.

HEED THE WARNING

To the Editor:

Father Coughlin's address on March 6th was the finest contribution to the cause of good government I have heard from any quarter. The facts and figures he quoted should burn themselves into the minds of every American. I am only sorry he reached his present conclusions after five years of New Deal crucifixions of the fundamentals of American democracy.

We in business have been aware of their portent for a long time; they only add up to show the lack of the present administration in its capacity to govern.

When any man, or group of men, try to despoil our Constitution, Supreme Court or any other bulwark of American ideals, it is high time for minute men to organize even as they did at Concord and Lexington. And the further tragedy is that the President still insists the ship of state will continue on its present course to worst disaster.

We are on our way to the graveyard of nations if voices like Father Coughlin's do not awaken the Congress to thwart the President in his frenzy to stifle commerce and trade.

—W. Mayer.

Wells, Mich.

RAILROAD RATES

To the Editor:

Being employed on a railroad for the past thirty years, and knowing my bread and butter has come from this employment, it is natural that I am for the new increase in freight rates. However, I would like to suggest that in the consideration of this increase that the Interstate Commerce Commission consider also the question of improving the service of the roads to the shipper.

To date in raising rates, one or all of the following were given due thought: the value of the service to the shipper, the cost of the service, and what the traffic will bear.

Now with due thought to the legislation that is proposed to end troubles of the roads, such as Hours of Service Law, Full Crew Bill, Train Limit Bill, and many others, it is hoped that they will add another base to the rule in the granting of increased freight or passenger rates.

This additional base is the consideration of average speed or time of delivery of freight. For instance, the road which moves ordinary freight at an average speed of 20 miles an hour over its line will be paid 15 per cent more than its published rates, and the road which moves Q. D. (perishable freight) at an average speed of 30 miles an hour will be paid the same increase.

The 30 mile per hour average maintained on live stock for example, will result in a saving to the shipper of approximately $6.50 a car which is now paid out in feed and water charges either at Chicago or another point midway between Chicago and the market at New York. In other words it is now necessary to feed and water the live stock the second time while on the road en route from western points to the market at New York.

A 30 mile per hour speed average would eliminate one of these stopovers and save the shipper more than is necessary to pay the proposed 15 per cent increase in freight rates.

Those who work on the railroad as well as those who use its service, would benefit by the consideration of increasing the average speed of the freight movement as well as an increase in the freight charges.

Willard, Ohio. —G. S. Heiser.

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Broadcast

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people do not elect the President. As a matter of fact we vote for electors who, in turn, elect a President—electors who are unknown generally to the masses as well as to the classes. Therefore, I propose that we abandon the electoral college and transfer the power of electing the President of the United States to the House of Representatives which House will be composed, as I have just said, of members elected according to class with each class having its own representative.

Instead of creating a dictatorial President, the House of Representatives will choose a President who is its leader. He will be chosen either from among their own members or from outside their members, as they decide. Thus, the office will seek the man instead of the man seeking the office.

Thirdly, I propose that we retain the Senate of the United States with two senators elected from each state, one of whom must represent capital and the other labor, in the wide acceptance of these terms. In one sense, the Senate will be vested with powers superior to those of the House of Representatives. I propose that while the Senate will not be permitted to initiate legislation, nevertheless, it will be necessary for that body to sanction all legislation. The Senate will be presided over by the Vice-President who will also be Secretary of Corporations — that is, under the President and the House of Representatives, the Secretary of Corporations will be the supreme authority over every class corporation in the United States including all the corporations of every classification of labor, of agriculture and of capital.

The Senators will surround themselves with experts in every phase of production, consumption, finance, commerce and accounting. Besides approving of all legislation passed by the House, the Senate will influence collective agreements between labor and capital and will promote diligently all corporative training agencies for every classification of citizen.

This, in brief, is the elemental structure of the Corporate State operated not by dictatorial powers but through the liberty of organization and of representation accredited by democracy. This is the end of plutocracy as well as the swan song of inefficient political party-ism.

The reforms which I have proposed for the House of Representatives obviate the necessity of forming a labor party, an agricultural party, a Republican party or a Democratic party. The only trace of party-ism which will survive will be in the divided opinion of the various class corporations from whom the representatives will spring by a majority vote. In the automotive industry, for example, the workers have the choice of selecting a representative either with Communist leanings or with Christian leanings. Party-ism will be limited within the bounds of the class corporations and will have little opportunity to function as such on the floor of the House.

Fourthly, I propose that Congress will abandon the present federal system of taxation which has grown burdensome and confiscatory, and will substitute for it a system which will levy taxation according to income and not according to property. This is in harmony with social justice and sound government. It spreads the burden of paying for the maintenance of government according to one's ability to pay and thereby abolishes the hidden consumer tax and all other taxes.

Fifthly, I propose that Congress will declare a 10-year moratorium on all federal bond payments and interest payments, thereby enabling industry and commerce, labor and agriculture to husband their resources and profits in this battle not only against depression but against the bulwarks of civilization itself.

Sixthly, I propose that Congress and Congress alone shall have full control over the spending power of the Federal Government and forthwith will exercise its right to issue and regulate money for the nation.

Seventhly, I propose that it shall be the business of Congress to safeguard the functioning of the law of supply and demand. The productivity of the nation shall be measured upon its ability to consume so that no child shall be hungry or naked, no father shall be needlessly unemployed and no wage-earner shall be paid less than a living annual wage.

And lastly, I propose that Congress, composed of both the House and the Senate, shall be a silent partner in settling with a finality all questions arising between capital and labor which capital and labor, through their corporations, do not settle by themselves. I do not propose that Congress shall permit government to engage in business and compete with private citizens except, in those rare instances, where the public welfare requires public ownership of things which, by their nature, are too important to be entrusted to the care of private individuals. In every sense, Congress shall protect private property and shall endeavor to multiply private ownership.

This is a brief outline of the democratic Corporate State free from the domination of capitalism and party-ism; free from bigotry and racial hatreds. These proposals I have not imported from Communistic Russia, from Socialistic Germany, or from Fascistic Italy. They are proposals whose germs are found in the Constitution of the United States and in the principles of Christianity which call for class co-operation instead of the class hatred bred by capitalism and fostered by radicalism.

In no sense, are these proposals to be identified with the so-called totalitarian state in which all citizens exist for the state. A true Corporate State flourishes under democracy and under the theory that the state exists for society and the social classes.

TIME SHORT BUT YOU CAN STILL WIN

Questions For This Week

QUESTION NO. 15

Upon What is the Right to Own Private Property Primarily Based?

1. Law of the land.
2. Customs of nations.
3. Law of God.
4. Human nature.
5. Human greed.
6. Law of the jungle.
7. Roman law.
8. Ancient Jewish law.

QUESTION NO. 16

Name One Element of True Democracy?

1. Sovereign power of the state is vested in the people.
2. Sovereign power of the people is vested in the state.
3. The people exist for the state.
4. Human rights are in proportion to human ability.
5. "The King can do no wrong."
6. There must be Christianity.
7. There must be no form of religion.
8. There must be absolute equality of opportunity.

FILL IN THIS COUPON AND MAIL WITH 10 CENTS IN COIN

Make your selection by number from suggestions under each question. Write clearly the number in the little square.

No. 15 For Question No. 15 I Select Answer No. ☐ No. 16 For Question No. 16 I Select Answer No. ☐

My Name Is.....

My Address Is.....

Town or City.....State.....

How to Become a Contestant

1. Study the questions. Mark your selection of the best or most appropriate answers on the Coupons below the questions and send in EACH WEEK with 10 cents in coin (not stamps).
2. If you wish, you may pay in full, $2.50 NOW, and then send in your weekly Coupons without further remittance.
3. Each question will pertain to a live AMERICAN ISSUE discussed by Father Coughlin over the radio or in the columns of SOCIAL JUSTICE. One of the list of suggested answers underneath each question will be the best or most appropriate based upon THE VIEWPOINT OF FATHER COUGHLIN AND THIS WEEKLY. It is your job as a contestant to try to select that particular answer.
4. Each contestant who completes a fully qualified set of 50 answers will be entitled without further cost to have SOCIAL JUSTICE sent for six weeks to a friend or relative who is NOT NOW a subscriber. Contestants may send in the name of this friend or relation at any time during course of the Contest. The trial subscription will start at once.
5. In order to qualify for the prizes, a contestant is required to remit $2.50 for each complete set of solutions submitted and he or she is entitled to have SOCIAL JUSTICE sent to a friend or relation for each set submitted.
6. If you run more than one set of answers, be sure to mark your sets "Set 1," "Set 2," "Set 3," etc. Each set stands alone in the judging. Coupons are NOT taken from one set to fill in bad "holes" in another set.
7. If you miss any of Father Coughlin's broadcasts, send for the pamphlet containing it by addressing "Reverend Father Charles E. Coughlin, Shrine of the Little Flower, Royal Oak, Michigan." Be sure to specify the date of the broadcast you missed.

Rules of the Contest

1. Open to all readers of SOCIAL JUSTICE except employes of Reverend Father Coughlin, members of the former National Board of National Union for Social Justice, or members of their families.
2. The Contest shall consist of 50 questions and run for 13 consecutive weeks, beginning on February 14, 1938. Two questions each week for 12 weeks and all 50 questions to appear the 13th week. Each question deals with a live economic or social problem affecting the United States.
3. A Grand Prize of $1,500.00 will be awarded the reader of SOCIAL JUSTICE returning the best or most appropriate answers to the 50 questions, such answers to be based upon the viewpoint of Father Coughlin as expressed over the radio, in the columns of SOCIAL JUSTICE or in his other public utterances. The reader or readers submitting the next nearest correct answers and otherwise complying with the rules shall be eligible for the additional prizes in the order of their correctness.
4. In order to qualify as a prize-winner the contestant is required to send in 10 cents in coin (not stamps) with each pair of answers. For these remittances the contestant shall be entitled to have SOCIAL JUSTICE sent without cost for six weeks to a friend or relation. This trial subscription is a condition for entering the contest.
5. We cannot take into account solutions without signed names or addresses. Neither can claims to their ownership be recognized. We cannot be responsible for Coupons arriving unduly late or lost in the mails. By entering the Contest the contestant agrees to accept as final the decision of the judges as to procedure and final outcome.
6. In event of ties additional questions will be submitted. In event of final ties, after two such submissions, duplicate prizes will be awarded.
7. Do NOT decorate Coupons. Neatness will NOT count.
8. Any inquiry the reply to which could not affect outcome of Contest will be acknowledged.
9. A contestant may send in any number of sets of duly qualified answers, and each set will be judged as a unit, but no individual may win more than one prize. A contestant sending in more than one fully paid set shall be entitled to have SOCIAL JUSTICE sent for six weeks to a friend or relative for each set submitted.

Within the next five weeks 175 readers of SOCIAL JUSTICE will share in $4,650.00—merely for knowing well the affairs of our country and what Father Coughlin stands for in this nation.

Within that short period of time some man or woman, boy or girl, will become the winner of a Grand Prize of $1,500.00. Another reader who gives this great "AMERICA TODAY" Contest a little serious thought for a few minutes will be awarded the Second Prize of $750.00. There is a Third Prize of $250.00; a Fourth Prize of $100.00; a Fifth Prize of $50.00; and 170 additional cash prizes.

Perhaps you were not a contestant in our last two competitions. If so, you did NOT share in the 661 cash prizes which went to as many readers and totaled $14,350.00, together with two Plymouth cars.

Then—here is your chance to strike for both education in social justice and material reward—at the same time.

If you were in our last competitions and did not win—remember—each contest brings forth a new group of winners. This CAN be your turn—if you enter while there is yet time.

At the bottom of this page you will find a "Past Questions" Coupon. Fill it in. Clip it. Mail it, and by return mail the "Contest Editor" will send you all questions which have appeared in the contest thus far. You can then enter and be up-to-the-mark with any person who has been in from the beginning. Be sure and save Questions No. 15 and 16 on this page.

The net proceeds of the contest go towards defraying the costs of Father Coughlin's broadcasts.

So—may we expect you?

Win This $1,500.00

GRAND PRIZE	**$1,500.00**
Second Prize	**$750.00**
Third Prize	**$250.00**
Fourth Prize	**$100.00**
Fifth Prize	**$50.00**
Twenty Prizes of	**$25.00 each**
150 Prizes of	**$10.00 each**

"Past Questions" Coupon

CONTEST EDITOR, SOCIAL JUSTICE
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN

I wish to enter the "AMERICA TODAY" Contest at once and be on an even footing with all other contestants.

Please send me free of charge, all Past Questions which have appeared up to date.

Name.....

Address.....

City.....State.....

ADDRESS:

"CONTEST EDITOR" SOCIAL JUSTICE
ROYAL OAK, MICHIGAN

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WHILE ROME BURNS

by Robert H. Hemphill

A Fiddling Congress Might Yet Avert the Nation's Collapse, But It Will Call For a Novel Brand of Statesmanship

I HAVE never been so pessimistic over the future as at the present moment. Reviewing events of the past few weeks, it is quite evident that Mr. Roosevelt and members of his official family, and a large majority of both the House of Representatives and the Senate, have learned nothing in all the five years of this unfortunate administration.

The simple cause of the collapse of 1929—and the equally simple cause of this present depression—remain to the President, to the Treasury officials, to members of the Federal Reserve Board and to most of Congress, as profound a mystery as similar phenomena were to the politicians of ancient Rome.

If the salaries of members of Congress varied as the business activity of the country varies, it would take but one short sharp depression to make monetary experts out of the entire membership of the Senate and House of Representatives. As the situation stands, there is not one constructive measure designed to relieve the present depression being considered in Congress.

The various grandiose schemes which the President so boastfully termed the NEW DEAL have fizzled into just what they always were—a medley of cock-eyed pipe dreams which could have been seriously considered only by the group of irresponsible mental adolescents that the President gathered around him, to redesign an intricate mechanism of whose simplest parts they were equally, profoundly and viciously ignorant.

But the contradictory effects of the laws which they designed are developing an economic jam that may wreck this nation before they can be understood and repealed.

Here is a nation endowed with natural resources beyond the dreams of avarice. One quarter of our willing and competent workers are unable to find employment making goods which the whole nation is eager to buy, and cannot obtain for the very simple reason that individually or collectively, they have not the necessary money or any usable substitute. It is just as simple as that.

What a tragic joke on a nation which believes itself to be intelligent!

The frightening thing about the situation is that there is no one in Washington, apparently, who is aware that we have 13,000,000 workmen idle, and that this number is increasing daily. Is it possible that we have to descend into the depths of 1932-33 to arouse Congress to the disaster that is upon us?

In a short while we will have 14,000,000 idle, and then 15,000,000, and this economic tailspin will continue until there comes a complete collapse—unless Congress very soon comes awake and begins seriously devising measures to arrest the deflation. This recession began in the early months in 1937, when the banks began selling their bonds to depositors in exchange for their deposit credits, taking out of circulation the deposit purchasing power of the people and reducing the annual income of the nation $3,000,000,000 for each $1,000,000,000 of deposit currency cancelled.

What is Congress waiting for? It is fiddling around with measures of doubtful purpose, even under favorable circumstances, and of no remote value to check and reverse the present deadly spiral of liquidation in which the nation is caught.

It is clear that the President has lost his leadership and, very likely, could not now put over an adequate program to restore us to the partial recovery which we had achieved early in 1937, even if he had the ability to formulate it.

As that able observer, Mr. Arthur Krock of the New York *Times,* very clearly indicated in his column of March 3, it appears that of recent times Mr. Roosevelt is not fully aware of what is happening.

But the country banks of the nation, which in all former depressions brought us out of the collapse by their courageous expansion of credit, are out of the picture. This writer has contended for more than five years *that the banking system would never again function as the producer of our principal medium of exchange.* The collapse of 1929 taught them that the loans which created the deposit currency, which gave us our previous periods of prosperity, periodically wrecked the banking system.

Here we are with traffic slowing up in all directions for want of a sufficient medium of exchange with which to pass our products from the producer to the consumer.

To check and reverse this deadly spiral of deflation we have an incompetent Administration—a Congress which "fiddles while Rome burns"—a banking system which is obsolete and useless as a producer of deposit currency—and a medley of cock-eyed and contradictory laws which would defeat any program of intelligent economic expansion, which did not include their modification or repeal.

This is by no means the whole picture. There are many gloomy details which accentuate these highlights.

We could yet escape the disaster that now appears inevitable, but it would take a fully aroused and united Congress of sufficient acumen to visualize what is coming, and a brand of courage and statesmanship which, I regret to say, I am afraid does not now exist in the Senate and House of Representatives.

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England. To support the anti-Christian doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings, which was not the teaching of Catholic Christianty. but which was a return to the paganism of ancient Rome, anti-Bellarmine chairs, or professorships, were established at Oxford and at Cambridge.

When he wrote the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson drew upon the writings and the teachings of the Catholic Bellarmine. A sentence by sentence comparison of the statements of Bellarmine and the statements of the Declaration of Independence shows the specific influence of Bellarmine upon Jefferson beyond the shadow of a doubt. The Library of Congress possesses the very copy containing Bellarmine's teachings on democracy which Thomas Jefferson used.

IN its history, as well as in its philosophy, it was Christianity which begot and supported democracy against the pagan totalitarianism of ancient Rome and against the Divine Right of Kings. It is no wonder, therefore, that Christianity is marked for liquidation by the pagan dictators of our modern day. Christianity conquered the totalitarianism of ancient Rome. Christianity produced democracy. Therefore, Christianity stands forth as the greatest, the most vigilant and the most energetic foe of totalitarianism and dictatorship in the world today. Cardinal Faulhaber and Martin Niemoeller have united on a common rallying ground.

Outside the wording and spirit of the American Declaration of Independence, there are volumes of evidence to prove that our American democracy was builded upon a recognition of the sovereignty of God and of the infinite value of every human being. It is not for nothing that the state papers of all the early Presidents of the United States are filled with the mention of God's name and with the recognition of His Divine Providence. It is not for an idle gesture that our Federal Congress and the legislatures of all the States throughout the country begin and close their deliberations with the recitation of prayer. It is not for mere stage effect that upon our coins we print the motto: "In God We Trust." It is not for cheap sentiment that one of the patriotic scenes which lingers longest and loveliest in our memories is the picture of George Washington kneeling amid the snows of Valley Forge. It is not for cheap politics that at the very close of the Declaration of Independence the signers of that great document pledged their lives, their fortunes, their sacred honor and turned to Divine Providence to bring victory to their endeavors.

THE PATHWAY to social justice is once again over the plains of love of God and love of neighbor. The pathway to dictatorship and totalitarianism is over the desert of collectivistic slavery. The country which removes God, as Earl Browder desires, out of the minds of men, lumps all its citizens into the form and figure of a slave. The man with the hoe will be triumphant only so long as he remains the man with the cross. The extension of democracy into the field of economics and not the abolition of democracy from the field of politics is the only cure for economic depressions. Social justice, like democracy, flowers from love of God and love of neighbor; the two laws, like to each other as Christ Himself has proclaimed, contain within themselves the fulfillment of life.

Nor must the reader imply that Judaism and the Jews should be excluded from this Christian Front, which must face the totalitarianism of our day just as it faced, and conquered, the totalitarianism of ancient days. The first Christians were Jews by race. Judaism was the prelude and preparation for Christianity. The law of Moses was recodified in the Gospels. Love of God and love of neighbor is as much an obligation for the Jew as for the Christian.

It was Christianity which conquered the totalitarianism of pagan Rome and it was Christianity which developed the doctrine and established the reality of Democracy. It is Judaism, united to Christianity, which must conquer the totalitarianism of today and preserve that American Democracy in our midst. Not the Judaism of Rabbi Wise who says "No" to Fascism and "Maybe" to Communism. But the Christianity of the Jew Saint Paul who said in the first century what all Christians must say in the twentieth: "No" to Fascism and "No" to Communism and "Yes" to Democracy in America.

Swinging of Classics Banned by Radio

by Anthony Ashley

THE AMERICAN radio audience—at any rate that middle-west portion of it that is served by Detroit's Good Will Station WJR—rose cheering to its metaphorical feet in support of Leo J. Fitzpatrick, vice-president and general manager of WJR, for his courageous action in defense of good taste in broadcast music.

Listeners to a recent program, which included a "swing" version of the fine old Scotch ballad "Loch Lomond," were startled by dead silence after a few opening bars of the piece had been played. Then a voice announced that something more refined would take the place of a jazz or "swing" rendering of the old classic.

Mr. Fitzpatrick's explanation to the press stated:

"Radio is my living, but there's just some things I won't stand for. And I'm not standing by and listening to bands murder all the decent things in music. Is nothing sacred?

"I listened the other night to a swing band put such a grand ballad as 'Annie Laurie' to a jazz death and it was awful. Some of these dear old ballads are sacred with a lot of our people, especially our older listeners. As for myself, I have a very tender recollection of my own mother singing 'Annie Laurie' when I was just a baby and I don't want such a memory disturbed by a lot of shrieking musical infidels. The next thing you know they'll be swinging 'Nearer My God to Thee.'

"I am not against swing, or jazz, or hot or any other kind of music," he said. "But I am strongly in favor of them keeping within their own limits. There is plenty of music in the world that is peculiarly adapted to the modern treatment, without these fellows massacring all that is sweet and decent in musical literature."

In a day when pandering to low taste and vulgarity is justified by the superstition of its popularity, such action, hazardous from a commercial standpoint, is courageous and commendable.

Black

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generally but one room and in this room not only did the laborer and his family live but the household animals including pigs, dogs and domestic fowl roamed at will. The coarsest of food rudely cooked and served in trenches, each fingering what he could with now and then a dog placing his muzzle in the general trough.

Hygiene as we know it was as absolutely unknown as anything could have been. Of course there were none of the comforts that we know of today. The roads were muddy trails. The practice of medicine was confined to the quack, or those who were trained in venery, the use of herbs and different distillations, some too horrible to think about. It is most difficult to understand how the people survived.

The belief in witchcraft, the supernatural, was universal. Men were ruled by the terrors of ignorance; learning except among the clerics was unknown. The right of the Amobyr of the Welsh, the Lyre-Wite among the Saxons, the Marcheta Mulierum among the Scots and the Amobragium in England, each the same as the Droit de Seigneur of the Continent (which was the horrible right the overlord claimed to the body of any woman upon his demesne the night of her marriage), was universal.

The toiler could sow but could only reap for his overlord. To the laborer went a bare existence, hardship, cruelty, destitution and poverty such as is unknown today. It was thus before the Norman Conquest, and after that time, the condition of the laborer became even more squalid and destitute, if that were possible. For with the Norman Conquest came the Divine Right of Kings. Before 1066, the kings in the heptarchy of England (the seven small kingdoms) were chosen by the Witenagemot who in turn were chosen by the folkmote or meeting of the people (the ancestor of our town meeting). Crude as were the laws, customs, and conditions of the Anglo-Saxons before 1066, yet they had their rights too. Primitive these were, but they were defined by custom and each individual had his place and in some measure had rights.

The idea that God created man free of subjection to government, the idea that the laws of nature protected the safety and happiness of individuals before government began and continued after the formation of human society, to protect the individual against the tyranny of his ruler; the idea that all just government originates in the consent of the governed was known to the Anglo-Saxons.

These rights disappeared with the coming of the Normans; who brought with them the Feudal System, founded on the ownership of land. All the land belonged to the king and all owed fealty to him. To his favorites he granted land and rights, but only to be repaid by duties that they rendered him. They in turn had their dependents from whom they wrought the last drop they could; and down through the retainers of the king's favorites, then their knights and squires, then the men of arms, etc.—and all this horrible edifice rested on the foundation built piece by piece, body by body, blood by blood, on the sinew and bone of the tillers of the soil of England.

At one time after the Norman Conquest over two hundred so-called crimes were punishable by death. The ruling class made the laws arbitrarily and meted out the penalties. As a matter of fact, the laborer and the poor had no rights even in theory. The will of the armed man, force and force alone, was law. The will of the king, (The Divine Right) and through him those whom he had ennobled; the rest were used like dogs, with fewer rights than dogs had or have. This was the condition of the laborer as we come to the year 1348; the year of the great calamity—the coming of the Black Death.

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BEHOLD THE MAN

COME with me to Pilate's Hall. It is the eve of the Crucifixion. There are gathered about those who hated Jesus Christ because He had driven some of them from the holy temple of God as they were in the act of desecrating it with their bargains and sales. There are others who detested Him because of His condemnation of that type of person whose only philosophy of morality was to make clean the outside of the cup and hide its contents beneath the cover of hypocrisy. Then, there were those few who remembered the parable of the Good Samaritan; or others who execrated Him because of His friendship for the outcast Magdalen.

Not one of His accusers dared attempt to convict Him of sin. Even the lily-livered chief magistrate of the Romans, who feared rather the criticism of man than the questioning of his own conscience, found no fault in Christ.

Amidst the tumult of their black devisals and heated words, a figure appears upon the upper balcony. It is the Christ! Upon His brow there is a crown of thorns woven by the cruel fingers of our sins. About His shoulders there droops and clings a garment crimsoned with His precious blood. Silence reigns at the ghastly sight. "Behold the Man!"

Gaze on Him, my friends. It is He Who spangled the heavens with the jewels of night, each more brilliant than this earth upon which we walk; it is He Who wove the veins of silver and gold throughout our mountains; He Whose mind devised both the beauty of the rose and the beauty of a babe! He, the Infinite God, the Possessor and Maker of all things, stands there in Pilate's hall! Beneath that crown of thorns there is the imperishable circlet of Divine Majesty. Hidden by that garment made bloody by the stripes of the flagellation there is infinite power, infinite justice, infinite mercy and infinite love throbbing within His Sacred Heart.

"Behold the Man!" Behold your God!

While His enemies were taking counsel, plotting against this innovator and trouble-maker Whose only crime had been one of love, I wonder what thoughts were lighting their candles in the mind of Jesus Christ! Perhaps, in reverie He had turned back the pages of time to the days of Bethlehem and its poverty. How glad He was that He had chosen to be poor!

In His great heart He remembered the love and the kisses which were bestowed upon Him by His Immaculate Mother; the hardships of Egypt's exile; the fatiguing labors in Joseph's carpenter shop; His wanderings throughout Judea when He had no place to rest His head. He remembered the little children who played about His knees. He remembered His royal reception into the Holy City.

Perhaps, looking down the vista of time, He caught a glimpse of all His little brothers and sisters whom He longed to have come and play about His knees and rest their heads against His Sacred Heart; envisioned all the heartaches, all the pains, all the sorrows which His big brothers and sisters must endure as they, too, stand trial before the Pilates of this world.

Perhaps, my dear friends, His Sacred Heart beheld you and me and everyone of us filled with heedlessness, thoughtlessness, and selfishness, as we stand idly by while a new Annas or a new Caiaphas or a new Pontius Pilate will not only wash their hands of Him and of His doctrine, but will swear falsely against Him, perpetuating that tragic scene while the world cries in derision the ancient half-truth of "Ecce Homo!"—"Behold the Man!" forgetful that He is also our God.

The thoughts above expressed indicate only one phase of the passion of Jesus Christ. Perhaps it will be more important to consider why Christ was condemned to death. Remember that perjuring witnesses testified against the prisoner in Pilate's Hall. Remember that the judge, Pontius Pilate, found no cause, after hearing the testimony, to condemn the Innocent One. Remember that this pious Roman official washed his hands of Jesus Christ and handed Him over to Annas and Caiaphas to judge in their own court and in their own way.

Why was Jesus Christ eventually condemned to death? Because He claimed to be the Son of God, is the correct answer.

"Destroy this temple and in three days I will build it up again," was the so-called blasphemy which fouled the ears of the high priests.

"He blasphemeth for voicing such words, because God alone can raise Himself from the dead"—that was tantamount to what His persecutors said.

Really, they were determined to get rid of Christ at any price. Christ's principles were contrary to theirs. The Master advocated giving to Caesar the things that were Caesar's, but He did not advocate selling the temple to Caesar; He did not uphold surrendering to civil government the things that belonged to God.

Those high priests, careful to hold their own positions, had betrayed the things of God to Caesar. For the beauty and morality of the laws which the Father in heaven had given to Moses, to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob and David, they preferred the ugliness and the immorality of many of the pagan practices which characterized the Roman Empire.

"Away with Him! Give us Barabbas!" These words had a deeper meaning than most people suspect.

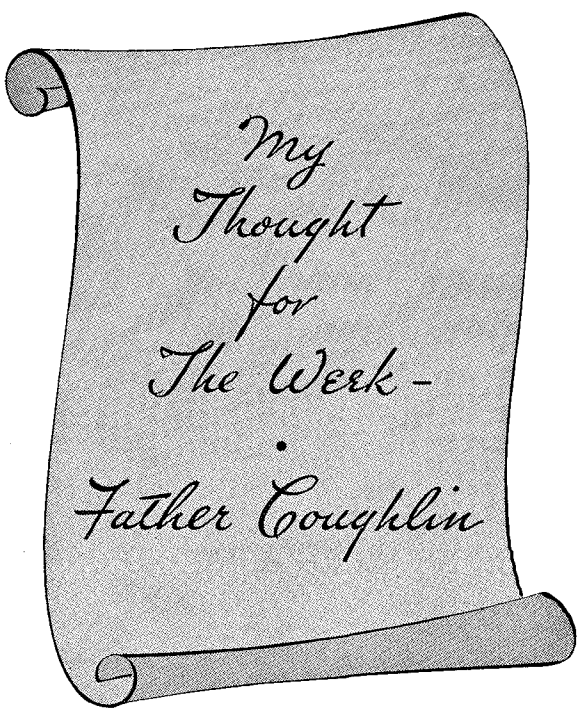
Christ was not a Jew-hater although He was done to death by the leaders of the Jews. Christ loved the poor, exploited Jews who for years had been victimized by the scribes and pharisees, flesh of their own flesh, for the benefit of maintaining intact a pagan system of society.

"Behold the Man!" Once more He is on trial in the courts, in the parliaments and in the homes of this world. We will not condemn Him to death because He fed the poor, clothed the naked and sheltered the homeless. Oh no, we will not crucify Him because He preached the Sermon on the Mount or established the principle of the living wage. But will we crucify Him because He promises to raise Himself up, on the third day, from the dead and therefore prove that He is the Son of God?

Long enough we have listened to the Annases and Caiaphases. Long enough have we adopted their policies which spring from the Synagog of Satan.

It is time that we cease clamoring for Barabbas and demand the release of Christ's brothers instead of the release of the thief.

God bless every one of you!



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MY DEAR FRIEND:

How would you like to have this year's series of broadcasts printed in a well-bound book?

Last week I sent to our printer copies of all the broadcasts made so far this year and arranged with him to receive the remaining broadcasts as soon as I will have written them.

Altogether they will form a book of approximately 130 pages.

I have selected the paper and the cover and the binding. I have purchased the mailing envelope and priced the postage.

I will be able to put this book in your home, as a gift, although it will cost me in the neighborhood of forty-three cents for each book.

The only question remaining is, "How many books will I have printed?"

If you want your copy, please write this week so that your name will be on the mailing list, which list will be closed on the sixteenth day of April.

Trusting that you will enjoy this book and its contents, may I remain as ever,

Cordially yours,
Father Coughlin

P. S. You had better write this week to help the clerks in my office arrange their mailing list. C. E. C.

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